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STUDIES IN BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

THE SERVANT
OF GOD

Παῖς Θεοῦ

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ALEC R. ALLENSON, INC.
635 EAST OGDEN AVENUE
NAPERVILLE, ILL.

This English translation of the article Παῖς Θεοῦ from Kittel's Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT was drafted by Harold Knight and afterwards completed by the editorial staff of the publisher, with help both from Professor Jeremias and his assistants in Göttingen.

First published in the
Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
ed. G. Kittel
(Stuttgart 1952)

First published in English 1957

57-21804

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CONTENTS

Zimmerli

I	THE עֶבֶד יהוה IN THE OLD TESTAMENT	9
1	THE PROFANE USE OF THE TITLE עֶבֶד	9
i	עֶבֶד = the slave	9
ii	The עֶבֶד in the service of the king	10
iii	עֶבֶד as a description of political submission	12
iv	עֶבֶד as a humble self-description	12
v	The sanctuary servants	12
2	עֶבֶד IN RELIGIOUS USAGE	13
i	עֶבֶד as the humble self-description of the pious in the presence of his God	13
ii	'Servants of Yahweh' in the plural as denoting the pious	16
iii	עֶבֶד יהוה in the singular as a description of Israel	17
iv	עֶבֶד יהוה as a title for specially distinguished figures	18
v	The Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah	23

Zimmerli

II	TRANSLATIONS IN THE LXX	35
1	THE עֶבֶד TRANSLATIONS IN THE LXX	35
2	THE TRANSLATION OF SERVANT OF GOD PASSAGES IN DEUTERO-ISAIAH	40

Jeremias

III	Παῖς Θεοῦ IN LATE JUDAISM IN THE PERIOD AFTER THE LXX	43
1	THE TWOFOLD MEANING OF Παῖς Θεοῦ	43
i	Παῖς Θεοῦ = child of God	43
ii	Παῖς Θεοῦ = servant of God	44
2	THE PERSISTENCE OF THE O.T. RELIGIOUS USAGE OF עֶבֶד יהוה	45

i Παῖς Θεοῦ as self-descriptive of the worshipper	45
ii The plural 'servants of God'	46
iii The collective linguistic use	47
iv Παῖς Θεοῦ as a title of honour for outstanding instruments of God	48
v 'Servant of God' as denoting the Messiah	49
3 INTERPRETATIONS OF DEUTERO-ISAIAH 'SERVANT OF GOD' PASSAGES	50
i Hellenistic Judaism	51
ii Palestinian Judaism	54
(a) The collective interpretation	54
(b) Application for the prophet Isaiah	55
(c) Messianic exegesis	57
<i>Jeremias</i>	
IV Παῖς Θεοῦ IN THE NEW TESTAMENT	79
1 Παῖς Θεοῦ AS A TITLE OF JESUS	80
i The origin of the title	80
ii The meaning of the predication	85
iii The semantic change from 'servant of God' to 'child of God'	86
2 CHRISTOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH SERVANT OF GOD IN THE NEW TESTAMENT	88
i The evidence	88
ii The historical setting in the life of the early church	94
3 CAN JESUS HAVE KNOWN HIMSELF TO BE THE SERVANT OF GOD?	98
ABBREVIATIONS	vii
BIBLIOGRAPHY	105
INDEX OF BIBLICAL REFERENCES	109

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

'A	Aquila's translation
'ΑΛλ	The column of the <i>Hexapla</i> called ἄλλος
AOB	H. Gressmann, <i>Altorientalische Bilder zum AT</i> ²
BFT	<i>Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie</i>
BHK	<i>Biblia Hebraica</i> , ed. Kittel ² (1909); ³ (1929 ff.)
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
DT	<i>Deutsche Theologie</i>
ET	<i>Expository Times</i>
FRL	<i>Forschungen zum Religion und Literatur des AT und NT</i>
GCS	<i>Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i>
HNT	<i>Handbuch zum NT</i>
HSAT	<i>Heilige Schrifts des AT</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
Meyer	<i>Kritisch-Exegetisches Kommentar über das NT</i> , begründet von H. A. W. Meyer
MGWJ	<i>Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
M.T.	Massoretic Text
NGG	<i>Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
NKZ	<i>Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift</i>
OTS	<i>Oldtestamentische Studien</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RE	<i>Realencyclopaedie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i>
RGG	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i>
RTP	<i>Revue Theologie et de Philosophie</i>
Σ	Symmachus' translation
SAB	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
SAH	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
S.-B.	H. L. Strack-Paul Billerbeck, <i>Kommentar zum Talmud und Midrasch</i> , I, 1922 II, 1924
s.v.	<i>sub voce</i>
Θ	Theodotion's translation
TB	<i>Theologische Blätter</i>
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TR	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
TSK	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
TWNT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum N.T.</i>
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
v.l.	<i>varia lectio</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZST	<i>Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

THE עָבַד יְהוָה IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

I. THE PROFANE USE OF THE TITLE עָבַד

The noun עָבֵד is to be derived from the verb עָבַד, which no doubt originally means 'to work'.¹ In regard to the noun, however, it is striking to what a considerable extent the actual meaning of the root has weakened² and been replaced by the idea of a specific personal relationship. Not 'the idle' but אֲדֹנָי 'the Lord' is the counterpart expressed or unexpressed of עָבֵד.³ עָבֵד is the worker who belongs to a master. The whole rich development of the עָבֵד idea begins with this sense of belonging. The suffix or construct formations but also the less frequent loose link with לְ all point not to the object that is produced by the worker but to the Lord who bids the work be done.⁴ In particular, the following chief modes of employment of the word עָבֵד can be distinguished:

(i) עָבֵד = *the slave*, the man who is characterized above all by the fact that he belongs to another.⁵ The slave appears to be the one who has completely become property. But O.T. law can point to the fact that in Israel limits are set to this victimization.

¹Noeldeke, review of F. Delitzsch, 'Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs zum A.T.', ZDMG, 40, 1886, 741; W. J. Gerber, *Die hebr. Verba denominativa*, 1896, 14-16; Lindhagen, 41-42.

²There is still a trace of it, for example, in Job 7.2 or in I Kings 9.22 where in Origen's supplement the עָבֵד נָתַן of the O.T. is translated by ἔδωκεν εἰς πρᾶγμα.

³This is beautifully clear in Lev. 25, where v.39 forbids that a brother who has fallen into bondage should be given עָבֵד-work, while v. 40 assumes as a matter of course that he will work (עָבַד).

⁴Thus one can indeed speak verbally of an עָבֵד אֲדָמָה (Gen. 4.2; Zech. 13.5; Prov. 12.11; 28.19) but never of an עָבֵד אֲדָמָה in the sense of a tiller of the soil. The verb עָבַד with the meaning 'serve' as derived from the noun should be termed secondary. For its usage see Gerber, loc. cit. in n. 1. The obvious weakness of the work of Lindhagen (cf. especially n. 41) lies in the unnoticed confusion of the noun עָבֵד and the verb עָבַד on which in fact is based his memorandum of the עָבֵד passages in the O.T.

⁵Most plainly in the enumerations of possessions, for example in Gen. 20.14; 24.35; 30.43; 32.5, and elsewhere, or in the extremely unsentimental כִּסְפוֹ הָיָא of Ex. 21.21 (cf. also Lev. 22.11).

The Servant of God

The slave has rights as a human being. Thus, in contradistinction to Babylonian law, for example, any injury done to a slave must be compensated by his release.⁶ In O.T. slave law there are no punishments by mutilation.⁷ The slave who has escaped from another master is not to be surrendered.⁸ This greater dignity and freedom of the slave were assisted by the fact that the slave shared in the common cultic life in O.T. faith, directed as it was to community and the people of God.⁹ Furthermore, Israel itself was conscious from the start that it owed its own whole existence to an act of deliverance from Egypt, the 'house of bondage' (Ex. 20.2; Deut. 5.6; 6.12, etc.). Lev. 25.42 is able to show how clearly Israel's consequent sense of belonging to Yahweh can assure to her slaves at least the right to live. Gen. 24 narrates the finest slave story in the O.T. The name of its hero is never indicated, but he is referred to simply as עֶבֶד אַבְרָהָם or more briefly as הָעֶבֶד.¹⁰ His action is determined wholly by the cult-communion of the house of his master. God is for him 'the God of my master Abraham' (vv. 12, 27, 42, 48). Within that setting an utterly free type of service is possible; the עֶבֶד acts in his business of wooing a bride for Abraham's son as effectually as though Abraham himself were present. He is the full representative of his master and remains nevertheless the submissive, nameless servant who does not even permit himself the humanly very understandable respite at the scene of his successful mission (vv. 54 ff.).

(ii) *The עֶבֶד in the service of the king.* The need of repelling the professional army of the Philistines made it necessary in Israel, from the time of Saul onwards, for the king who normally had at his disposal only a voluntary army, to form for himself a paid standing army.¹¹ Whoever entered the latter seceded from

⁶Ex. 21.26 f.; cf. *Codex Hammurabi*, § 199, 213.

⁷*Codex Hammurabi*, § 205, 282.

⁸Deut. 23.16; cf. *Codex Hammurabi*, § 15-20.

⁹Sacrifice, Deut. 12.12, 18; sabbath, Ex. 20.10; Deut. 5.14; passover, Ex. 12.44; circumcision, Gen. 17.13, 27. In Lev. 22.11, although the עֶבֶד title is missing, the fact is very clearly expressed.

¹⁰עֶבֶד אַבְרָהָם vv. 34, 52, 59; הָעֶבֶד vv. 5, 9, 10, 17, etc.; v. 2 represents him as עֶבְדוֹ זֶקֶן בֵּיתוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּכָל-אֲשֶׁר לוֹ. The reader of the extant Abraham stories as a whole will think of Eliezer, mentioned in Gen. 15.2.

¹¹I Sam. 14.52; cf. especially A. Alt, *Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palästina*, 1930, 33 f.; E. Junge, *Der Wiederaufbau des Heerwesens des Reiches Juda unter Josia*, 1937, 8-22.

natural tribal membership and became עֶבֶד הַמֶּלֶךְ.¹² It would not be appropriate to speak in this matter of slavery, since service with the king probably was based upon a firm agreement whereby the king too bound himself to reciprocal duties.¹³ The עֶבֶד was spoken of in this connexion because here again a clear relationship of belonging, which superseded all previous relationships of the kind, was what determined the status of these royal servants. With the increasing elaboration of the monarchy and the creation of further groups of officials the use of the עֶבֶד-idea was extended. All functionaries dependent on the king could be summarily designated 'servants of the king'.¹⁴ Finally, the bearer of an important unique office at the court, whose functions unfortunately are not made plain in the sole reference to him, II Kings 22.12 (II Chron. 34.20), seems to have carried the title עֶבֶד הַמֶּלֶךְ in a very special sense.¹⁵

¹²עֶבְדֵי שָׁאוּל I Sam. 18.5; 22.9 etc.; עֶבְדֵי אִישׁ-בִּשְׁת בֶּן-שָׁאוּל II Sam. 2.12; עֶבְדֵי דָוִד II Sam. 2.13, 15, 17, etc.

¹³I Sam. 22.7; the king's right—an ambiguous title—overshadows the voluntary nature of the עֶבֶד, but there is talk of recompense in I Sam. 8.14 f. Here and in what follows we may compare with the Arab. *bai'*-covenant (J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 1914, 52–63). On the other hand, it is hardly correct to characterize the עֶבֶד-relationship outright, hence every slave relationship, as a ברית-relationship of a *bai'* type' (Lindhagen, 53). However much in Israel the religious עֶבֶד-relationship can be fitted into the ברית-relationship of Israel, the religious עֶבֶד-statements receiving a special stamp, the ברית- and the עֶבֶד-relations are originally different structures.

¹⁴Thus already in the time of Saul an עֶבֶד seems to have had special charge of the flocks, I Sam. 21.7. The steward Ziba is termed עֶבֶד in II Sam. 9.2 (cf. v. 9)—is that an early form of the household office עַל-הַבַּיִת I Kings 4.6; 16.9? He himself again has עֶבְדִים at his disposal. The counsellors of Saul are so named in I Sam. 16.15. The circle of those courtiers not involved in the war at the time of David is called עֶבֶד II Sam. 11.9, 13; also David's counsellor (II Sam. 15.34) and ambassadors are so named (II Sam. 10.2–4). A comparison of the parallel texts II Kings 19.23 and Isa. 37.24 shows that עֶבֶד can be simply replaced by מַלְאָךְ. In I Kings 11.26 Jeroboam, Solomon's overseer of labour, is called עֶבֶד; cf. II Chron. 13.6.

¹⁵If Jeroboam named in the inscription of the fine seal found in Megiddo שִׁמְעַ עֶבֶד יִרְבֵּעַם were one of the kings of this name (*AOB*², fig. 578, cf. K. Galling, 'Beschriftete Bildsiegel des I. Jahrtausends', *ZDPV* 64, 1941, 121–202 No. 17), if the עֶזִי and אַחֲז of the seal inscriptions Galling No. 85 and 125, especially 1a, should mean king Uzziah and Ahaz, then possibly we should have here further allusions to this courtly title which is perhaps directly cited on the seal Galling No. 43 (לִיאֲזַנְיָהוּ). Cf. further p. 30, n. 92; D. Diringer, *Le iscrizione antico-ebraiche palestinesi*, 1934, 229–231; Lindhagen, 36–39.

(iii) לַעֲבֹד as a description of political submission. More widely and indefinitely לַעֲבֹד is used to express quite generally the idea of political submission.¹⁶ In this connexion even kings can be described as לַעֲבֹד (II Sam. 10.19; cf. II Kings 18.24). But always לַעֲבֹד denotes one who is subject and belongs to a master. There is always latent therein the implication of humiliation which at times comes out unexpectedly in plain lament (Lam. 5.8).

(iv) לַעֲבֹד as a humble self-description. From the language of the court self-reference as לַעֲבֹד has penetrated as an expression of humility into everyday polite speech.¹⁷ Here at times words may be added which emphasize overmuch the element of meekness.¹⁸

(v) *The sanctuary servants.* Perhaps the sanctuary servants should be mentioned as a special group. According to Josh. 9.23 Joshua dooms the Gibeonites to be לַעֲבֹד לַיהוָה .¹⁹ But if we regard the O.T. as a whole, what strikes us is how plainly לַעֲבֹד suggests a personal relationship. Parallels to the formula often to be found in Carthaginian inscriptions, לַעֲבֹד of the house of God,²⁰ are lacking in the O.T.²¹ This is significant, not merely for an answer to the question about the emergence of a temple

¹⁶ Thus the Gibeonites come with the formula of subjection לַעֲבֹד לַיהוָה Josh. 9.11; cf. I Kings 20.32; II Kings 10.5. For the fuller formula of subjection and demand for help II Kings 16.7: לַעֲבֹד לַיהוָה ; see *TWNT*, II, 270, 13.

¹⁷ T. Köhler, 'Archaeologischsches', *ZAW*, 40, 1922, 43f.; I. Lande, *Formelhafte Wandlungen der Umgangssprache im AT*, 1949, 68-71; for courtiness in diplomatic intercourse, *TWNT*, II, 270, n. 40-42. Alongside the polite self-reference of the speaker stands the polite reference to a third party by the speaker as לַעֲבֹד .

¹⁸ For example Hazael, II Kings 8.13; 'thy servant the dog' or II Sam. 9.8, Mephibosheth, 'What is thy servant that you should have turned to such a dead dog as myself?' Cf. J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-amarna-Tafeln*, 1915, 60, 6 f.; 71, 17 f.; 85, 64. For the *ardulaminu* of the Amarna letters see Lindhagen, 7-30. Further Lande (op. cit. in n. 17), 74-76. The formula לַעֲבֹד in the Lachish letters 2.5.6, ed. H. Torczyner, *The Lachish Letters*, 1938, 36 f., 92 f., 104 f.

¹⁹ Is the now intervening 'heaters of wood and drawers of water' a gloss or original? Probably the sanctuary in Gilgal is in question. M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua* (Handbuch z. AT, I, 7), 1938, 29-33.

²⁰ לַעֲבֹד לַיהוָה *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, I, 1, 1881, No. 247-9, 252, cf. 250 f., 253 f.

²¹ In the enumeration of the sanctuary servants of Ezra 2 and Neh. 7, where a mention of such people would be most expected, we have a group of לַעֲבֹד לַיהוָה לַעֲבֹד Ezra 2.55, 58; Neh. 7.57, 60; 11.3, who from the time of Solomon must have been appointed to a specific temple service. But it is significant that they are characterized at this late period by their once personal relation as לַעֲבֹד לַיהוָה .

capitalism, but equally for the appraisalment of עֶבֶד-passages in the O.T. עֶבֶד is a person who belongs to a person.

2. עֶבֶד IN RELIGIOUS USAGE

In the religious usage of עֶבֶד are to be found the same three constructions of phrase as in profane usage, together with the construct formation יהוה עֶבֶד,²² the grouping with a suffix in all three persons, more seldom the combination with ל.²³

(i) עֶבֶד as the humble self-description of the pious in the presence of his God. The connexion with secular usage can be seen most plainly in the pious man's meek description of himself as he stands in the presence of his God. Just as the inferior, in speaking to the superior, refers to himself humbly as 'thy servant' in the third person, this manner of speech is all the more appropriate when man stands in the presence of God.²⁴ In this connexion the expression can assume varying emphases. First, in many passages the simple, humble confession of the lowly status of the speaker before his great Lord can be uppermost.²⁵ Next, from this expres-

²²Thus twenty-one times. Plur. עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה. Only in later times is to be found also during the process of the displacement of the Yahweh name עֲבָד הָאֱלֹהִים, I Chron. 6.49; II Chron. 24.9; Neh. 10.29; Dan. 9.11. Once in an older text we can recognize the penetration of the Father-God title; in Gen. 50.17 the brothers in the presence of Joseph describe themselves as עֲבָדֵי אֱלֹהֵי אָבִיךָ; in the Aram. Dan. Darius describes Daniel as עֲבַד אֱלֹהֵא חַיָּא, 6.21; elsewhere the three friends are described as עֲבָדֵי דִּי אֱלֹהֵא עָלְיָא, 3.26. In the Aram. Ezra 5.11 we find in the address to the Persian governor the Jews representing themselves as עֲבָדֵי דִּי אֱלֹהֵא שְׁמִיָּא וְאַרְעָא.

²³עֶבְדִּי 62 times; עֲבָדִי 17 times; עֲבָדְךָ 92 times; עֲבָדֶיךָ 20 times; עֲבָדוֹ 23 times; עֲבָדָיו 16 times. Combination with ל: sing. Isa. 44.21; 49.5 f.; plur. 56.6; Lev. 25.55.

²⁴Cf. esp. Baudissin, 'Kyrios', *TWNT*, III, 524-55. The similarity between this polite mode of address and the language of religious worship stands out most clearly in those passages where one wonders whether the speaker is aware that he stands in the presence of the divine Lord. In Gen. 18.3, 5 the original text may well have implied that Abraham did not yet recognize Yahweh among his three visitors and hence offered his greetings in the style of polite speech. But the M.T. by its vocalization אֲדֹנָי in v. 3 wishes to express the idea that Abraham is aware of his encounter with God. Clearly any change in the style of address was not thought necessary.

²⁵Moses, Ex. 4.10; Num. 11.11; Deut. 3.24. Curiously enough the עֶבֶד-title is missing in Abraham's strong expressions of self depreciation, Gen. 18.27. If H. Torczyner is right in his proposed change of text בְּעִבּוֹר עֲבָדְךָ וְכָלִבְדְּךָ 'Dunkle

sion of humble submission can be heard a certain claim. As in the mouth of Ahaz the formula of subjection turned into the request 'I am thy servant and thy son: come up, and save me' (II Kings 16.7), so the same thing can happen in addressing God. He who confesses allegiance to a master withdraws himself from the dominion of all other possible masters, and so with inner justification can request the master whose allegiance he owns to be careful for his part to preserve his power and to protect his servant. In this sort of situation the honour of the divine Lord is at stake.²⁶ If in this supplicating approach to the Lord man's own performance is stressed (but I am your worshipper) then the self-description עֶבֶד acquires a strongly active tone. If, on the contrary, the already experienced favour of God is emphasized, then the name עֶבֶד marks the attitude of thankful self-surrender.²⁷

What has so far been shown is in no way peculiar to the O.T. These features of pious self-description as עֶבֶד (Babylonian *ardu*) are to be found in exactly the same way in the world surrounding Israel. But three further points are to be noted which characterize the O.T. encounter with God and render intelligible how the O.T. understanding of עֶבֶד could undergo its own peculiarly rich development.

O.T. faith springs from the encounter with Yahweh the jealous Lord (Ex 20.5; 34.14; Deut. 4.24; 5.9; 6.15; Josh. 24.19; Nahum 1.2). When Ashurbanipal owns himself the servant of Nebo,²⁸ but at the next New Year's feast again grasps the hands of his land-god

Bibelstellen', in *Festschr. K. Marti*, = *ZAW*, Beiheft 41, 1925, 275), then we should have here in the language of prayer the use of the formula of humility common in profane speech: your servant and dog. Since this type of humble self-expression, which is really de-personalizing, occurs nowhere else in O.T. religious language—is it merely an accident?—there must be doubts about Torczyner's reconstruction of the text.
²⁶Ps. 143.11 f. 'Quicken me, O Lord, for thy name's sake . . . destroy all them that afflict me; for I am thy servant.' Cf. the Babylonian: 'Quicken thy servant, who wishes to exalt thy power and praise thy greatness among all men', W. Schrank, *Babylonische Sühnriten*, 1908, 56.

²⁷Thus for example the inscription on a votive pillar of Malta: 'To our Lord Melkart, the Lord of Tyre, from your devotees your servant (עֶבֶדךָ) Abdosir and my brother Osirshamar, son of Osirshamar, son of Abdosir, for he has heard their voice. May he bless them.' *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, I, 1, 1881, No. 122.

²⁸J. Pinckert, *Hymnen und Gebete an Nebo*, 1920, 16 ff. The text is not quite certain in 1.5. But that does not affect the fundamental principle here asserted.

Ashur and is again invested by him with his sovereign rights, this self-description as the servant of Nebo cannot be understood in an exclusive sense. In Israel, on the other hand, the self-description of the pious man as עֶבֶד יְהוָה is characterized by its total claim. The thought 'no man can serve two masters' embraces not merely the moment of the worshipful turning towards God but the whole of life. Alongside it no other עֶבֶד-status is conceivable. The seriousness of this attitude becomes manifest on both sides: Yahweh claims the total obedience of his servant and the latter even in the hour of bitterest trial may claim the protection of this exclusive allegiance.

O.T. faith is aware of a primal inclination of Yahweh to Israel arising from the free grace of Yahweh. In regard to the development of the expression עֶבֶד יְהוָה this implies that this inclination cannot be realized conclusively in the sphere of individual piety or even in that of any local cult. It stands related to the event of Israel as a whole. The individual can become the servant of Yahweh only in so far as he is a member of Israel; for the will of Yahweh is directed toward Israel. It has become manifest in the deliverance from Egypt and the conclusion of the covenant which followed from it and of which Israel speaks from the earliest times. The servant status of the pious man is to be understood from within the sphere of this relationship which was created not by man but by Yahweh.

O.T. faith realizes that the encounter with Yahweh took place in the midst of history and that it points to an historical goal. Thus the servant character remains not within the timeless sphere of individual piety but gains special importance where Yahweh in his historical meeting with his people calls individuals to some special service.

If we turn now from these conclusions to consider again the humble self-description of the pious which occurs in the O.T., we shall find intelligible the note of ardent trust in the expression. The עֶבֶד state is not one which the pious man has attained through his own achievement or which rests on sacrifices and good works alone. The self-description עֶבֶדְךָ gains its security from being felt to be an echo of a call which originally was uttered by the mouth of Yahweh himself. Thus, in Num. 12.7 f. Yahweh says in emphatic and repeated affirmation of Moses: 'My servant

Moses'.²⁹ But it is also to be heard on the lips of the simple anonymous man of prayer: 'Let thy merciful kindness (חֶסֶד) be for my comfort, according to thy word unto thy servant' (Ps. 119.76). The petitioner dares, on the strength of a word from Yahweh which was directed to him, to approach Yahweh as a servant. The word which the O.T. worshipper hears becomes, however, again and again a word of commanding guidance on the part of the covenant God.³⁰ 'I have gone astray like a lost sheep; seek thy servant, for I do not forget thy commandments' (Ps. 119.176; cf. vv. 17, 23, 135, 140). The servant is he who is obedient to the command of God. But the עֶבֶד יְהוָה will also have enemies who are especially sinister because they at the same time embody enmity to Yahweh. Hence the title עֶבֶד יְהוָה may explicitly or implicitly be contrasted with the counter word 'my enemies' (thy, Yahweh's, enemies). 'Let them curse, but bless thou: when they arise let them be ashamed; but let thy servant rejoice' (Ps. 109.28).³¹

(ii) '*Servants of Yahweh*' in the plural as denoting the pious. The expression עֶבֶד יְהוָה on account of its inner depth acquires great force in the O.T. It is not merely a conventional formula for the individual pious man³² and can be freely used in the plural to denote the pious as a whole.³³

²⁹As also of Caleb, Num. 14.24, further of David, Isaiah, Eliakim, Nebuchadnezzar etc. It is significant that as against עֶבֶד יְהוָה occurring 92 times in the mouth of the petitioner, עֶבֶד יְהוָה occurs in the mouth of Yahweh as many as 62 times (in the plural 20 עֶבְדֵי יְהוָה to 17 עֶבְדֵי יְהוָה).

³⁰Cf. for example Ps. 50 or the torah Psalms 15 and 24.

³¹It is not necessary in this connexion to discuss the problem of the 'enemies' in the Psalms.

³²In the world of the ancient Near East surrounding Israel the עֶבֶד title seems to have been mainly used in this formula of humble self-description and in the giving of names. The Malta inscription quoted in n. 27, p. 14, above, may perhaps give us some idea of the rigidity of this type of formula. Although two benefactors are there named they do not dare to use the formula in the plural but say clumsily 'Thy servant and my brother'. As for the giving of names cf. especially the rich material in Baudissin, 'Kyrios', *TWNT*, III, 531-48. For Ras Shamra see Lindhagen, 30-31. For O.T. giving of names M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, 1928, 137-38. In Karatepe 'zwd is denoted as עֶבֶד בַּעַל (A. Alt, 'Die phönikischen Inschriften von Karatepe', in *Die Welt des Orients*, 1949, 272-87).

³³Ps. 113.1 and 135.1 f. mention the worshipping community in the temple or the circle of priests, 134.1 mentions a vigil. Ps. 112.1 LXX (παῖδες), 'A, Σ, Θ (δοῦλοι) and 134.1 LXX (δοῦλοι) seem to use the description 'your servants' absolutely and the construct state עֶבְדֵי יְהוָה is misunderstood (αἰνεῖτε, παῖδες, κύριον). The Hebrew text knows nothing of the absolute use.

Synonymous parallels may elucidate for us their inner meaning. Servants of Yahweh are those who 'seek refuge in him' (Ps. 34.22), who 'love his name' (Ps. 69.36)—here the possession of the land of Yahweh's inheritance is ascribed to the servants of Yahweh, his saints (=those who are bound to him in *חֶסֶד*, Ps. 79.2). Or most briefly and pregnantly: 'his people' (Ps. 105.25; 135.14). Here plainly an allusion to divine election is linked with the *עֶבֶד* thought.³⁴ In Trist. Isa. the cleavage of the community into servants and enemies of Yahweh is strongly emphasized (Isa. 65.13 ff.). Further, the two poles of the *עֶבֶד* idea are clearly recognizable. Isa. 56.6 describes obedience to the laws of the covenant as the basis of the *עֶבֶד* status, while 65.9, by equating servants of Yahweh and 'elect', lays all the emphasis on the divine election. These elect are the visible pledge of the gracious favour of Yahweh. 'So will I do for my servants' sake' is his own gracious promise (Isa. 65.8).

(iii) *עֶבֶד יְהוָה in the singular as a description of Israel.* This humble self-description of the individual saint leads to the characterization of Israel in the singular as the *עֶבֶד יְהוָה* which probably started with Deutero-Isaiah.³⁵ The latter formulates most of his words of promise in the style of the priestly oracles of deliverance.³⁶ The promise given by the priest to the suppliant corresponds closely in style to the lament with which the suppliant approaches his God.³⁷ Thus the oracle takes up the liturgical word usual in such individual laments, 'I am thy servant', and embeds it in the quite new context of the comforting divine assurance: 'But thou, Israel, art my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, seed of Abraham my friend; thou whom I have taken from the ends of the earth, and called thee from the chief men thereof, and said unto thee, Thou art my servant, I have chosen thee, and not cast thee away.'³⁸

³⁴Lindhagen, 153-5.

³⁵If we take the mention in Jer. 30.10 (see p. 18, n. 41, below) as original then we find the beginning of this development in Jer. In that case the slender amount of testimony to this impressive new use in Jer. is striking. Is it that Jer. found it in a tradition of prophetic language unknown to us and used it only incidentally? The striking freshness which the phrase has in Deut. Isa. seems to me to point to the fact that its manifestation here is an innovation.

³⁶Begrich, *Heilsorakel*, 81-92, and *Studien*, 6-19, 137, 140 f.

³⁷H. Gunkel-J. Begrich, *Einkl. in die Ps.*, 1933, par. 6, cf. also par. 4.

³⁸Isa. 41.8 ff. Cf. further 44.1 f; 45.4. In the exhortatory word 44.21. In a brief allusion 48.20.

The title is transformed in the mouth of Yahweh. No longer does there stand in the foreground the humble confession of the people crushed in exile (conceived by this prophet in full personal terms as an individual figure), but the powerful, gracious use of it by Yahweh. In statements which go far beyond the concept master-servant and are not levelled out, the idea of belonging utterly to Yahweh by grace is brought to expression. Israel the **עַבְדֵּי יְהוָה** has been created by Yahweh (44.2, 21), chosen by him (41.8 f.; 44.1; 45.4), fetched from the ends of the earth (41.9), and is the seed of Abraham the friend of God (41.8). With the formula already found in the Babylonian oracles of favour, she is urged to be fearless (44.2). Yahweh promises her help, indeed, the help of ransom secured to the blood relation (48.20).³⁹ There is no talk of any initiative to be taken by the servant Israel herself. If 42.19 refers to Israel then she is even declared to be utterly blind (cf. 43.8). The witnessing to the power of Yahweh which she is summoned to undertake⁴⁰ is that of a passive recipient of a gift. 'To return'—that is the sole activity to which the people is summoned (44.22); to return in view of the saving deed which Yahweh alone has accomplished.⁴¹

(iv) **עַבְדֵּי יְהוָה** as a title for specially distinguished figures. Yahweh made contact with his people Israel in history, and held them to history as the place where he is near and where responsible decision is made. Hence it is not surprising that O.T. faith again and again sees in history figures whom it recognizes pre-eminently as

³⁹ J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT*, 1940, 27-45.

⁴⁰ 43.10. It is debatable whether here by **עַבְדֵּי** Israel is meant or an individual figure alongside the people.

⁴¹ The style of Deut. Isa. is echoed in Jer. 30.10 (par. 46.27 f.), cf. p. 17, n. 35. In Ezek. 28.25; 37.25 it is a question whether by the servant is meant the patriarch Jacob or the people. In the similar expression in Ps. 136.22, which uses the name Israel, it is clear on the other hand that the people is indicated. This is the text where Lindhagen most dangerously misleads. Since in his examination he does not distinguish noun and verb, he is unable to see the narrowly defined limits within which alone the singular **עַבְדֵּי** title is used for Israel. The abundant use of the verbal **עַבַּד** for Israel conceals them from him. Consequently the whole arrangement of his study gives the impression that the talk about the servant of Yahweh applies to Israel in the first instance (the major section goes under the heading 'Israel as Yahweh's Servant', 82-233), and only secondarily do individual pious men bear the title **עַבְדֵּי יְהוָה** (233-62 deals with the nucleus of pious as **עַבְדֵּי יְהוָה**, 262-88 with 'The Servant as Individual Members of the People of Israel'). The real state of affairs for the substantial use of **עַבְדֵּי** is exactly the opposite.

servants of Yahweh. We must now consider these outstanding representatives of the עֶבֶד יְהוָה status. It is to be expected from the outset that profane courtly usage, which is also aware of these pre-eminent and marked עֶבֶד figures as contrasted with the general use of the title, will not have been without influence.

(a) Israel finds the beginnings of its history embodied in the figures of the patriarchs. In them the gracious character of Yahweh's revelation,⁴² which began long before Israel was a people, is expressed most clearly. Thus it is to be understood that wherever the fathers are spoken of as servants of Yahweh, the idea of a gracious relationship to Yahweh is clearly presupposed. The patriarchs are pledges of the divine will to save. Yahweh promises blessing to Isaac for the sake of Abraham his servant.⁴³ In a specially dark hour for the people Moses implores Yahweh by reminding him of the oath which he swore to the fathers whom he names.

(b) Moses stands on the threshold of the people's history. Forty times in the M.T. the name of עֶבֶד is given to him. Two pre-Deuteronomic passages do so with especial emphasis. In Num. 12.7 f. Moses is differentiated by a divine explanation from those prophets who know God only in a dream or vision. 'Not so is my servant Moses, who is faithful in all mine house. With him I speak mouth to mouth . . . wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?' Moses is the vizier, the true steward of Yahweh. We are reminded of the faithful servant of Abraham (cf. p. 10). In Ex. 14.31 J, after Israel had been saved at the Red Sea by the leadership of Moses 'then they believed Yahweh and Moses his servant.' Moses is only Yahweh's servant. But in what he powerfully accomplished Yahweh was so obviously present that the people's responsive faith submits to Moses and to Yahweh in him. An essential feature of the biblical revelation comes out here. God's history is not transcendental heavenly history. It stoops to earth and

⁴²So at least according to the popular tradition which is especially manifest in Gen. Otherwise with the prophets: Hos. 12.3 ff.; Jer. 9.4; Isa. 43.27.

⁴³Gen. 26.24, cf. Ps. 105.6, 42. Only in the speech of Abraham's servant is Isaac called 'servant of Yahweh' (Gen. 24.14). In the mention of the name Jacob, the difficulty is in each case to decide whether the patriarch Jacob is designated, or the people called after him. See n. 41. Cf. in I Chron. 16.13 the distorted quotation from Ps. 105.6.

The Servant of God

appoints men with their deeds and words as its signs. Moses, Yahweh's servant, embodies in his activity such a part of divine history. Obedience or disobedience to his word is decisive for men's attitude to Yahweh. Moses is much more emphatically than the patriarchs an active servant-figure. He shapes the law (Josh. 1.2, 7; II Kings 18.12; Mal. 4.4, etc.), orders particular matters with regard to the possession of the land (Josh. 1.13, 15; 8.31), prescribes cultic matters (II Chron. 1.3; 24.6), and promises coming peace in the land (I Kings 8.53, 56). But behind it all stands the election of Yahweh who appoints to him and Aaron their service.⁴⁴

(c) The further series of servants of Yahweh can be clearly divided into two lines of development. First, the king, who has to perform an outstanding service in Israel. 'By the hand of my servant David I will save my people Israel out of the hand of the Philistines and out of the hand of their enemies', is Yahweh's word in the certainly pre-Deuteronomic text of II Sam. 3.18. The king is the servant of Yahweh with the special duty of saving the people of God out of the hand of their enemies—but not every king. From the promise to Nathan we see a second development; David, in virtue of a special bond of grace, is the pre-eminent king of the holy people. Hence in the Deuteronomic history, where the description of David as עֶבֶד יְהוָה is especially frequent, the blameless obedience of David can be strongly emphasized, and also the duty of the servant in regard to meritoriousness. But only in appearance. The same Deuteronomic history especially stresses the basic fact of divine election⁴⁵ which again shows the Davidic monarchy to be a pure gift of grace. I Kings 11.34 combines the two factors into a tense duality: 'David my servant, whom I chose because he kept my commandments and my statutes.' The more their history

⁴⁴Cf. the parallel statement in Ps. 105.26. In the after-glow of the story of Moses, Joshua also can once (Josh. 24.29 = Judg. 2.8), as the one who completes the work of Moses, be called 'Servant of Yahweh'. In the case of Caleb the faithful informant (Num. 14.24), on the other hand, the thought of obedience is stressed.

⁴⁵I Kings 11.13, 32 names, in conjunction, David and the chosen city of Jerusalem as the pledge of Yahweh's fidelity. For the background of religious worship behind this association cf. H. J. Kraus, *Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im A.T.*, 1951, 58 f. I Kings 11.36 and II Kings 8.19 mention the will of Yahweh to give David a lamp. II Kings 19.34 and 20.6 formulate most strongly the significance of David as the divinely ordained symbol of salvation: 'For my . . . and my servant David's sake' Yahweh wills to help.

runs into disaster the more intensely O.T. faith clings to the figure of David, the servant of God, as a token of promise. It waits for the day when this servant will again be king (Ezek. 34.23 f.; 37.24 f.). It reminds Yahweh of the oath which he swore to his chosen servant David (Ps. 89.3; cf. v. 20). It speaks of the indissoluble bond which Yahweh made with his servant David (Jer. 33.21 f., 26).⁴⁶ Immediately after the exile we see the same hope flare up. The post-exilic successor of David, Zerubbabel, who in Zech. 3.8 is described with the secret messianic title מָלֵךְ, gains here and in Hag. 2.23, from the mouth of Yahweh, the additional title of honour עֶבֶד.⁴⁷ Jer. 25.9; 27.6; 43.10, show⁴⁸ that the description of a king as יְהוָה עֶבֶד even in the context of prophetic declaration of judgement, can have a peculiar emphasis. In Nebuchadnezzar the stern holiness of Yahweh appointed, with limited mission, a royal servant who was foreign to Israel. Here too the divine will expresses itself through the servant in human form. Whoever resists Nebuchadnezzar, resists Yahweh (Jer. 27-29).

(d) The line of prophets stands beside that of kings. The prophet is Yahweh's word-messenger. The office of messenger existed in the royal service too.⁴⁹ The report of David's embassy to Hanun (II Sam. 10.2 ff.) shows clearly how closely the honour of the messenger is bound up with that of the king. From I Kings 18.36 we can see that the same thing applies to the servant of God. Elijah prays on Carmel: 'Yahweh God of Abraham, Isaac and Israel, let it be known this day that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant, and that I have done

⁴⁶How closely the cause of Yahweh, and that of his royal servant of the lineage of David, are bound up together is shown by the statement about Sennacherib's messengers, who speak against the Lord 'and against his servant Hezekiah' II Chron. 32.16 (still more strongly expressed, without the use of עֶבֶד in I Chron. 28.5; 29.23; II Chron. 13.18). Yahweh's honour is involved in the affair of Hezekiah. Cf. what was said about Ex. 14.31 on p. 19.

⁴⁷An unknown Davidite; Ps. 89.39, 50. Cf. also I Kings 8.30, 36 (corrected text), 52, 59.

⁴⁸But the pre-hexaplar LXX reads עֶבֶד only in the second passage (δοιλεῖν αὐτῷ ἑβραῖον). The statement about Nebuchadnezzar sounds so peculiar that it is not likely to be a new formation of later times. Since intrinsically it fits best with the oracles of Jeremiah its invention by the latter is the most satisfactory supposition.

⁴⁹For the alternation of עֶבֶד and מַלְאָךְ see p. 11, n. 14 above. Isa. 44.26 (amended text) shows a corresponding parallel for the office of the prophetic messenger of God, Job 4.18 for that of heavenly messenger.

all these things at thy word.' Yahweh's history is again present in the midst of men through his authorized messenger. The knowledge of God depends upon the knowledge of his servant. In the Deuteronomic writing of history, the prophet gains an almost instrumental significance. Constantly his teaching reveals the course of history as a redemption of the divine pledges made in prophecy.⁵⁰ Thus Ahijah of Shiloh (I Kings 14.18; 15.29), Elijah (II Kings 9.36; 10.10) and Jonah ben Amittai—as prophet of good things—(II Kings 14.25) are described as servants of Yahweh.⁵¹ In the wider range of Deuteronomic writing the usual formula of ‘“my” (“thy”, “his”’) servants the prophets’ has crystallized into a cliché. It becomes a firm mode of thought employed mostly in a specific type of theological context. These messengers are the great admonishers of the people⁵² sent by Yahweh, without intermission. In all these passages there comes to the fore a definite active mission on the part of the servant. The parallel with the royal court can be specially clearly seen here. To the heavenly court of Yahweh belong these servants who perform his commissions on earth. Job 4.18 adds the thought of the heavenly messengers with their appointed tasks.⁵³

In the older narratives (especially of Elisha) seer and prophet are given the probably pre-exilic title⁵⁴ אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים.⁵⁵ The subsequent replacement of this by עֶבֶד might well have been due to the desire to see the weaker אֱלֹהִים supplanted by יְהוָה,⁵⁶ but even more the unrelated אִישׁ supplanted by עֶבֶד which expresses more sharply the sense of fully belonging to God.⁵⁷ On the

⁵⁰G. von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy*, 1953, pp. 74 ff. The thought was then taken up by Deut. Isa. and made an important pillar of his argument against the idols of the heathen (Isa. 41.22 f., 26 f.; 42.9 etc.).

⁵¹In Isa. 20.3, Isaiah too is called ‘my servant’ by Yahweh.

⁵²II Kings 9.7; 17.13, 23; 21.10; 24.2; Jer. 7.25; 25.4; 26.5; 29.19; 35.15; 44.4; Ezek. 38.17; Amos 3.7 (probably a later addition); Zech. 1.6; Dan. 9.6, 10; Ezra 9.11.

⁵³I Kings 22.19 ff. shows both circles of the heavenly court in a peculiar connexion. The name עֶבֶד is not mentioned here.

⁵⁴Noth (loc. cit. in n. 32).

⁵⁵LXX II Chron. 24.6 translates Moses' title אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים by ἀνθρώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ.

⁵⁶For the late development see n. 23.

⁵⁷אִישׁ can also express the idea of belonging to a collective, e.g., in the plural, the men of Kirjath-jearim (I Sam. 7.1), of Jabesh (I Sam. 11.5, 10). Such a use is inconceivable with עֶבֶד, cf. p. 12, n. 21.

other hand, the older writing prophets clearly avoid⁵⁸ the use of עֶבֶד as a description of their office. An attempt has been made to explain this by suggesting that the word עֶבֶד implies 'the bondage of man's will to the will of God', whereas the prophets 'demand a free decision for obedience to the will of God'.⁵⁹ This explanation is not convincing. A more adequate suggestion is that the description of oneself or others as עֶבֶד יְהוָה is rooted in the cultic style of the sanctuaries (cf. the Psalms) and of popular piety—shaped by courtly style. The older writing prophecy stands in strong opposition to this type of piety and avoids its terminology.⁶⁰ It is significant that the terminology in the Deuteronomic sections of Jer. and especially in Deut. Isa.,⁶¹ whose close affinity with popular prophecy and the Psalms is becoming ever plainer, gains more and more ground.

(e) In the framework of the book of Job, the latter is several times named by Yahweh 'my servant' (1.8; 2.3; 42.7 f.). Within the section nourished by Wisdom literature the writer speaks freely of a 'servant of Yahweh' outside the borders of Israel. What is concretely displayed in Job's fidelity is, despite the fact that in Job's own words the name of Yahweh is avoided, the best biblical awareness of Yahweh's immovable connexion with his creation (cf. for instance, 14.13-15). Further, the active obedience of the servant of God is here vigorously stressed. Job's fear of God, which was vividly depicted in the introduction, proves itself in faithful obedience, since in spite of all the temptation of Satan he does not renounce God with a curse. Hence God acknowledges Job by graciously naming him his own servant עֶבֶד as against the calumniating speech of Satan (1.8; 2.3), and the self-righteous speeches of the friends (42.7 f.).

(v) *The Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah.* The O.T. usage of עֶבֶד יְהוָה reached its fulfilment in the suffering servant passages in Deutero-Isaiah.

Since in 1892 Duhm took from their context the passages

⁵⁸Amos 3.7 is probably secondary; Isa. 20.3 seems to be a report at third hand, cf. O. Procksch, *Isaiah I*, 1930, 255. Isa. 37.35 comes from the Isaiah legend; thus 22.20 remains, if genuine.

⁵⁹Baudissin, *Entwicklung*, 8.

⁶⁰Cf. the terms 'covenant', 'election' in patriarchal theology.

⁶¹The passages in Isa. and Ezek. which have the religious use of עֶבֶד seem likewise to come from the groups of pupils.

The Servant of God

Isa. 42.1-4; 49.1-6; 50.4-9 and 52.13-53.12, and referred them to a later time as songs depicting the fate of an unknown teacher of the torah, the question of their connexion with Deutero-Isaiah has been much discussed.⁶² Closer examination has shown how intimately they⁶³ are related to Deut. Isa., as regards diction, style, and pattern of structure.⁶⁴ This applies least to 52.13-53.12 where the middle portion (53.1-11a), in particular, stands out as a song of thanksgiving by the community, with characteristic style and peculiarity of diction.⁶⁵ Even in content it goes beyond the matter of the first songs. But it is impossible to free it from the framework of Yahweh words (52.13-15; 53.11b, 12), which for its part is inseparable from 49.7. But the latter is more strongly Deuteronomic in style, and in thought is not far removed from 50.4-9. So 52.13-53.12, the final mystery of which is not yet cleared up, appears firmly attached to the whole cycle of songs and is, like the other songs, to be interpreted in the light of Deutero-Isaiah's message.

(a) How is the figure of the עֶבֶד to be explained? In the history of exposition there have been from early times two main opposing contentions. Consideration of the present text of 49.3, and of the otherwise predominant use of the עֶבֶד title in Deut. Isa. (cf. p. 17 above), pointed inevitably to the collective interpretation of Israel as a whole.⁶⁶ In contrast with that stands the idea of an individual figure suggested by the songs.⁶⁷ Reflection on the religious use of the עֶבֶד concept in the O.T. where, except for the unambiguous collective application in Deut. Isa., the individual application pre-

⁶²A full history of recent exposition is given by North in the first part of his book.

⁶³To them should probably be added 42.5-9; 49.7, 8-13. Cf. Begrich, *Studien*, 74 f., 131-51.

⁶⁴Cf. Gressmann, 'Analyse'; also Köhler and Begrich, *Studien*. Mowinckel, 'Komposition', does not pay sufficient attention, in his counter argument, to the conclusions established in regard to style and genre.

⁶⁵A separate origin for 52.13-53.12, has been argued even in recent times by Elliger, Volz and Sellin.

⁶⁶The text was already modified in that sense in the LXX 42.1 (see pp. 40 f.). Cf. in the middle ages the Jewish exegesis by Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Kimchi; and later J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische-Gesch.*, 1894, 117-18. See Giesebrecht, Budde, *Ebed Jabve-Lieder*, 34, Eissfeldt, 25, and others.

⁶⁷The oldest piece of evidence is probably Isa. 61.1 ff. Cf. also W. Zimmerli, 'Zur Sprache Tiritj's', in *Festschr. L. Köhler*, 1950, 69-71. LXX particularly for 52.13 ff., cf. p. 41 below. Cf. further the question of the eunuch, Acts 8.34. More recently, see n. 70.

The Servant of God in the Old Testament

dominates (cf. pp. 18 ff.), is not itself decisive. The suggestion of an individual meaning in 49.5 f. might well commend itself to us. If the words of God here, which answer a complaint of the servant, refer to an originally more limited mission of the עֶבֶד to Israel and to its later expansion to cover the gentiles, then there are insuperable difficulties in the way of the collective interpretation.⁶⁸ In the יִשְׂרָאֵל of 49.3 we shall have to see an early, but in the text a secondary *midrash*⁶⁹ made in a collective sense while the original text will have to be interpreted in an individual sense. But in that case, what kind of an individual is meant? The use of the עֶבֶד title elsewhere in the O.T. apart from its application to the great figures of early times (patriarchs and Moses), suggests two main lines of development: the Messiah-King (see p. 20) and the prophets (see p. 21). Attempts have been made to solve the עֶבֶד riddle by means of both these types.⁷⁰ A closer study of the character of the servant's office, the means of its fulfilment described in 50.4 ff. (ear, tongue), and unmistakable points of contact with

⁶⁸The reckless adjustment of the text by Giesebrecht, 44 f., will convince as little as the tortured reinterpretation of Budde (in Kautzsch ad loc.). Again, the recent attempts at collective interpretation by Eissfeldt and H. Wheeler Robinson, 58-62, do indeed give us important information about the conception of the people as a collective personality but do not really get to grips with the text of Deut. Isa. Finally the assertion that the issue ought not to be presented as a stark alternative (e.g., A. Bentzen, *Introduction to the O.T.*, II, 1949, 113. 'Ebed Yahweh is both the Messiah and Israel and Deutero-Isaiah and his band of disciples', *inter alia*) seems to me to serve only to befog the whole problem.

⁶⁹For the possibility of such interpretations cf. LXX of 42.1. J. A. Bewer has shown in 'The text-critical Value of the Hebrew MS Ken. 96 for Isaiah 49.3', in *Jewish Studies in Memory of G. A. Kohut*, 1935, 86-88; also in 'Textkritische Bemerkungen', in *Festschrift für A. Bertholet*, 1950, 67-68, that the MS Kennicott 96 in which יִשְׂרָאֵל in 49.3 is absent cannot be adduced as evidence of sound tradition. The gloss goes back behind all the textual evidence at our disposal (cf. also M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St Mark's Monastery*, I, = *The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary*, 1950, plate 40, line 30).

⁷⁰For the kingly line the following have been thought of: Uziah: see J. W. C. Augusti, 'Über den König Usia nebst einer Erläuterung Is 53', in *Magazin für Religionsphilosophie, Exegese und Kirchengeschichte*, 3, 1795, 282-99; K. Dietze, *Ussia, der Knecht Gottes*, 1929; Hezekiah: L. Itkonen, 'Dtjs metrisch untersucht', *Annales Academiae Fennicae*, 14, 1916; Jehoiachin: E. Sellin, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde*, 1901, 284-97, also *Das Rätsel des deuterojesajanischen Buches*, 1908, 144-50; Zerubbabel: E. Sellin, *Serubbabel*, 148-92; the Messiah: Gressmann, *Messias*, 337 ff., J. Fischer, *Isaias 40-50 und die Perikopen vom Gottesknecht*, 1916, 165.

For the prophetic line the following have been thought of: Moses: E. Sellin, *Mose*, 108-13; Isaiah: C. F. Staudlin, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der bibl. Propheten*, 1791; Jeremiah: C. J. Bunsen, *Vollst. Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde*, vol. 2, 1860, 438; Ezekiel: R. Krätzschar, *Ezechiel*, 1900, among others. For the whole history of these types of exegesis see North.

Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's narratives of their call, seem to recommend a prophetic basis.⁷¹ The features suggesting kingly action (execution of judgement, 42.1, 3f., release of captives, 42.7; 49.9 and the sharp sword, 49.2), can also be understood from a prophetic point of view.⁷²

(b) What individual prophetic figure may have determined the character of the עֶבֶד? The supposition is very strong that in the songs something of the mission of Deutero-Isaiah has been reflected,⁷³ and there receives an interpretation which transcends the framework of his life and dares by faith to attain an ultimate insight.⁷⁴ (See *TWNT*, IV, 616, 30 ff.⁷⁵) The striking element of objectification and concealment under the anonymous title עֶבֶד יהוה may well imply that the prophet did not wish to be misunderstood simply in subjective-biographical terms.⁷⁶ The figure is called עֶבֶד. As in the story of the servant in Gen. 24 (cf. p. 10 above), the omission of any proper name is meant to express the fact that the true essence of this mysterious figure lies in its belong-

⁷¹We have already referred to the high valuation of the prophets' word which illuminates history (Deut. Isa. uses for them the עֶבֶד title in 44.26 [of the amended text]) as a trait akin to that of the Deuteronomist; cf. n. 50.

⁷²Whether the passion features may be claimed as something distinctive of kings, thus coming to Deut. Isa. from the ritual of the suffering atoning king, or had influenced the whole class of individual songs of lament, has been much discussed recently. See Dürr, Engnell, Bentzen and Gressmann, *Ursprung* (329-33), who argues on the basis of the Tammuz ritual. One wonders whether it would be easier and more likely to suppose that these timeless traits of a ritual king-liturgy should reach the O.T. from Babylonian cultic life, which Deutero-Isaiah passionately rejected, rather than from the prophetic confessions of Jeremiah (n. 75), which arose out of the trials of a specific historical mission. This is not to exclude the possibility that at individual points old cultic formulae may have exerted an influence and moulded language *via* Psalmody, already extant in Canaan and cultivated at the time of the kings. But such formulae can hardly have constituted the real impulse to the formation of the image of the servant in the mind of Deutero-Isaiah, with his passionate faith in historical decision.

⁷³First impressively substantiated by Mowinckel in *Knecht*, then later rejected by himself in his 'Komposition'.

⁷⁴Cf. the analogy of the kingly line, and see G. von Rad, 'Erwägungen zu den Königspsalmen', *ZAW*, 58, 1940-41, 216-22.

⁷⁵This is suggested also by the parallelism with Jeremiah's confessions. They too, similarly overlapping the literary framework of Jeremiah's book, show the inner vision on which the duty of obedience rests, the inescapability of the prophet's mission, and especially the path of suffering which prophecy involved. But that which with Jeremiah remains in the darkness of mystery (20.14 ff.) with Deutero-Isaiah reaches a characteristically ultimate answer which rounds off O.T. insights.

⁷⁶That the confessions of Jeremiah too show the struggle against his duty is shown by G. von Rad, 'Die Konfessionen Jeremias', *Evangelische Theologie*, 3, 1936, 265-76.

ing to another—here Yahweh.⁷⁷ Thus it becomes plain that the link is not with a thing but with a person (see p. 13). The reference to a servant occurs mostly in passages where the word of Yahweh makes a decisive call (42.1; 49.3, 6; 52.13; 53.11; only 49.5 in the third person). The servant has been fashioned by Yahweh (42.6; 49.5, 8) from his mother's womb (49.5; cf. v.1). He is the chosen one on whom Yahweh's favour has been focused (42.1), whom the hand of Yahweh has seized (42.1). He has been called by Yahweh (42.6; 49.1) in truth (i.e., validly, 42.6). His name has been named with all the solemnity of a cultic name-giving.⁷⁸ To this decisive election is added equipment for service. Yahweh endows his servant with his Spirit.⁷⁹ He touches and makes ready for his use those organs which are of especial importance for the fulfilment of the prophet's mission: the ear (50.4 f.), and the mouth (49.2; 50.4).⁸⁰

(c) In what does the duty of this servant messenger consist? In the introductory words of 42.1–4, where Yahweh offers his servant a wider sphere of public service and which gives Yahweh's call to the prophet as something turned outwards,⁸¹ there occurs three times, in an absolute sense, the word מְשַׁפֵּט to indicate the content of the servants' preaching (42.1, 3, 4). Our whole interpretation of the servant's task will turn on our understanding of these words. Is it here suggested that the duty of the servant is to spread abroad⁸² the truth,⁸³ 'the only valid religion since Yahweh

⁷⁷Do we not find there perfectly expressed the state which Jeremiah had differently suggested in one of his confessions? 'When I found thy words I devoured them. Thy word was a joy and it became the delight of my heart that I am called by thy name, O Lord.' 15.16.

⁷⁸49.1. For מְשַׁפֵּט see Ex. 20.24; 23.13; Josh. 23.7.

⁷⁹42.1. Here there is a connexion with a saying from the old popular type of prophecy (cf. II Kings 2.9) which had fallen into the background with the great writing prophets. Cf. P. Volz, *Der Geist Gottes*, 1910, 24, 62–69. In the rendering of the saying in Isa. 61.1 (cf. n. 67) we find also the thought of the anointing of the prophet, which can likewise be attested in the older type of prophecy (cf. I Kings 19.16).

⁸⁰Cf. Jer. 1.9; Isa. 6.7 and Ezek. 3.1 ff.

⁸¹A N.T. analogy is the juxtaposition of the word at the baptism addressed to Jesus himself in Mark 1.11; Luke 3.22; and the address to the bystanders in Matt. 3.17. More expressly in Matt. 17.5 (Mark 9.7, Luke 9.35).

⁸²On מְשַׁפֵּט cf. further TWNT, III, 932; J. Pedersen, *Israel, its life and culture*, I–II, 1946, 348–52. Oddly enough K. Fahlgren, *ḏdākā nabestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im A.T.*, 1932, 120–38, which treats of מְשַׁפֵּט, does not speak of Isa. 42.1–4.

⁸³Volz, ad loc.

is the only God',⁸⁴ 'the true law in which Yahweh's Spirit has found perfect expression'?⁸⁵ In that case the servant might be thought of simply in terms of a missionary whose task it was to convert men everywhere to this true and timeless insight—a work which it is difficult to conceive as practicable for a single individual, and against which the objections of those who support the collective idea are justified. Or should we not see here rather in strict historical connexion the suggestion of an instruction in judgement and right (in 42.4 the parallelism of מִשְׁפָּט and חֹרֶה) which is rooted in the accompanying divine execution of judgements in history? It cannot be denied that this second line of understanding is far nearer to what we know of prophecy in general than the first, which would make of Deutero-Isaiah a teacher of religion in quite a new style.

What then is the history with which the proclamation of מִשְׁפָּט coheres, and wherein by reason of its content it is rooted? In Isa. 42.2 f. the content of this proclamation of מִשְׁפָּט is indicated by means of three images, which no doubt stemmed from the sphere of law-symbolism and leave no doubt about the historical place where the proclamation is made. The pictures of the herald who, contrary to custom, does not cry aloud, of the bruised reed which symbolizes the death sentence, and which contrary to expectation does not break, and of the smoking flax never quite extinguished, are designed to express the surprising act of grace by which Yahweh establishes justice.⁸⁶ Isa. 42.7 speaks more clearly of the release of captives, and in 49.5 f. it is quite openly stated that, in concrete terms, it is a question of the restoration of the preserved of Israel, i.e., of the exiles, and of the gathering together of the people (v. 5 should read יִשְׂרָאֵל לוֹ יֵאָסֶף). The passage 49.8 ff. describes this restoration, in harmony with the joyful tones of Deutero-Isaiah's message elsewhere, as a return journey through a now transformed desert blessed with water, and as a new taking possession of the devastated promised land. At the same time it

⁸⁴Budde in Kautzsch, ad. loc.

⁸⁵W. Hertzberg, 'Die Entwicklung des Begriffes מִשְׁפָּט im A.T.' *ZAW*, 41, 1923,

41, n. 1.

⁸⁶The images of the sword and the arrow (49.2) are meant to express the idea that the Word of God in the mouth of the prophet has the power of penetration (cf. Jer. 23.29). They ought not in sentimental fashion to be set over against 42.2 f. (against Volz, ad loc.).

becomes clear that in all that, not only is there intended an external historical restitution but an establishment of justice which will transform Israel both outwardly and inwardly. The eyes of the blind shall be opened (42.7; cf. the blind people 43.8); darkness will be pierced with light (49.9); Israel will again find her God and will recognize his faithfulness (hence the call to return 44.22). Thus Yahweh marvellously establishes his justice for a people which had dejectedly complained of the loss of its right (40.27).

But that does not exhaust this process. Isa. 49.5 f. reports a mighty expansion of the mission of the servant which will be made clear to him just when he despairs of the success of his efforts.⁸⁷ Already in 42.1 f. it is stressed that the judgement, מִשְׁפָּט, though obviously concerning Israel in the first instance, shall be proclaimed to all peoples even to the farthest isles.⁸⁸ In 49.5 f. what is there suggested incidentally becomes a full and direct statement: the servant will be a light for the whole earth.⁸⁹ His activity which takes place against the background of Yahweh's vindication of Israel⁹⁰ soon to be historically manifested, destroys

⁸⁷In a striking parallel (Jer. 12.1-6) the downcast prophet is 'comforted' by Yahweh's reference to an increased burden.

⁸⁸The parallel in Jeremiah's call, who is from the beginning appointed as a prophet to the nations (1.5, 10), although at first his activity is limited to Judah, must not be overlooked at this point.

⁸⁹Cf. also in 42.6 אֹרִי גוֹיִם, which is, however, not an assured reading (Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 54). If the associated בְּרִית עִם which occurs again alone in 49.8 is to be understood as a synonymous phrase, then the scope of the servant's mission is here widened as is also the covenant category stemming from Israel's history; he becomes a בְּרִית for the peoples. In this there is in view the thought of the covenant as a gift of grace; cf. Begrich, 'Berith', *ZAW*, 60, 1944, 1-11 and *TWNT*, I, 34, n. 73. The idea of the covenant can hardly be interpreted here in a narrow juristic way. It includes the two points: first, the fact that Yahweh's salvation extends to the ends of the earth (49.6); and second, that consequently every knee should bow and every tongue confess Yahweh's power (45.23 f.).

⁹⁰At this point should be mentioned the declaration about Cyrus. This proclamation is in a certain sense a further development of the announcement in Deuteronomic-Jeremianic circles concerning the royal servant Nebuchadnezzar. The only difference is that in Deut. Isa. the title עֶבֶד is replaced by the clearly military-political title מְשִׁיחַ. From this point of view it is unlikely that the עֶבֶד should be understood in a kingly-messianic sense. The substitution theories, e.g., of Hempel, which see in the עֶבֶד proclamation a substitute for the disappointed expectation centred in Cyrus, rest at the decisive point—the supposed experience of disillusionment—on very uncertain ground. But no more may the Cyrus expectation, as Begrich, *Studien*, 144 f., wishes, be interpreted as the scanty remnant of a disappointed eschatological hope. It represents—not as a logical necessity but for a daring faith in Yahweh—the true historical manifestation of the saving nearness of Yahweh. In Isa. and Jer. too, such interpretations of historical phenomena can be recognized.

the still apparently triumphant world of idols.⁹¹ It glorifies the sole honour of Yahweh and thus becomes the light and salvation of the whole world.⁹²

(d) The passages 49.7; 50.4-9; and 52.13-53.12 make it clear that the servant passed through a vale of suffering. The lot of Jeremiah repeats itself in the experience of the servant of Yahweh. But while as a result of his confessions and the tale of woe, written no doubt by Baruch, the sufferings of Jeremiah are brought into the full light of biographical openness, Deutero-Isaiah reports with a noticeable objectivity and aloofness. In what does the suffering of the servant consist? Was he persecuted by his own people? The visible opposition of the exiles (45.9 f.) to the announcement that Cyrus had been sent by Yahweh as the anointed and saviour of Israel, might seem to lend colour to

⁹¹The speeches of rebuke and judgement against the idols 41.1-5, 21-29; 43.8-13; 44.4-6 etc., are to be understood against the background of Yahweh's imminent fulfilment of the right in history. They are not meant to express 'monotheistic insights'—static, timeless and divorced from history—but to glorify triumphantly the truth which is soon to be actualized historically in judgements which will thus assume eschatological dimensions. The speech against the escaped of the nations (45.20) shows that the healing of the nations will be realized by a judgement shattering not only the idols but also their worshippers; cf. Begrich, *Studien* especially ch. 3 'Das Verhältnis Dts's zur religiösen Überlieferung'.

⁹²Begrich, *Studien*, supp. I, 161-66, would like to translate הוֹצִיא מִשְׁפֵּט 42.1 as 'make known the judgement'. Thus he would see in the servant the one who proclaims publicly Yahweh's gracious judgements on Israel, and he inquires further whether we should not recognize in 42.1-4 the book of the duties of the above mentioned (p. 11) עֶבֶד הַמֶּלֶךְ. The latter would thus be a herald whose office it would be to make known the righteous judgements of the king through the symbolism which is transparent in 42.2 f. Thus Begrich claims that the choice of the title עֶבֶד יְהוָה is to be understood by analogy with this office. Against this last hypothesis it must be pointed out that Begrich clearly does not take sufficiently into account to what an extent Deut. Isa. is here dependent on older linguistic usage in the description of the prophets, and the fact that he is in no way coining new phrases. Also Begrich's suggested translation of הוֹצִיא מִשְׁפֵּט can hardly be justified. If it might be considered for the הוֹצִיא מִשְׁפֵּט of 42.1 it is utterly impossible for the synonymous שִׁים מִשְׁפֵּט of 42.4; and above all for the parallelism of מִשְׁפֵּט and תּוֹרָה. Here it must be a question of the establishment of a universal judgement overlapping the individual case (cf. the מִשְׁפֵּט הַמֶּלֶךְ of I Sam. 8, or the formula in II Kings 17.27 הוֹרָה אֶהְיֶה מִשְׁפֵּט אֲכַחֵי הָאָדָם akin to 42.4). But the views of Begrich may well be correct in so far as this execution of justice stands in the closest relation to the gracious judgements of Yahweh, taking concrete shape in the history of Israel, which it is the office of the servant as messenger of joy to announce, and that it finds in those disclosures its guarantee, and that in consequence the proclamation of salvation to the peoples radiates from this revelation through history to which Israel, by its experience of grace, remains the true witness (43.10; 44.8).

such a supposition. Did the Babylonian power pit itself against the proclaimer of the power of Yahweh? The formula, 'servant of rulers', coined in antithesis to the 'servant of Yahweh' (49.7), and the allusion (49.7; 52.15) to the forthcoming astonishment of kings might be regarded as pointing in that direction. Did the servant fall sick?⁹³ The songs give us no definite information. As in the psalms of lament, multiple competing images give us oblique indication. Also the question whether 53.8-10 speaks of the death of the servant,⁹⁴ or whether it suggests only the imminent and ineluctable but not yet fulfilled necessity of his dying,⁹⁵ is wrapped in an obscurity which we cannot with certainty pierce. With this is involved the further point that 52.13-53.12, after echoing clearly traits from the earlier songs, unmistakably abandons the realm of the biographical, on the basis of which we thought we could understand what the servant's office was, and gives a picture of the true servant of Yahweh which far transcends the personal experience of the prophet. Thus it is not by chance or by ineptitude that Isa. 53 has again and again been understood as alluding to the figure of the one that is to come.⁹⁶

Thus it is at this point that the account of the servant diverges from the account of Jeremiah given in his confessions, and goes beyond them to express in a twofold way a final word about the office of and promise to the true עֶבֶד יְהוָה. Jeremiah's confessions ended on a note of unrelieved darkness,⁹⁷ but the servant of Yahweh comes to rest in the recognition of the deep meaning in his pain. His suffering is vicarious.⁹⁸ In the context of this deepest

⁹³Duhm, ad loc., explains the נָוֶה of 53.4 as referring to the leper.

⁹⁴See Elliger; Sellin, 'Lösung'. In this case the text must come from a later hand.

⁹⁵Begrich, *Studien*.

⁹⁶H. W. Wolff, 36, formulates the idea of a prefigurement of the coming one to express the prophet's sense of transcendence over his own specific office. G. von Rad ("Gerechtigkeit" und "Leben" in den Ps. in *Festschr. A. Bertholet*, 1950, 424 f.) has pointed out that in the speech of the psalmist about the 'righteous', we meet with such images, conceived in the ultimate daring of faith, to transcend the empirical. He speaks of the prototype of the just (צַדִּיק). On the analogy of Ps. 2 (n. 74) we might refer to the royal messianic line.

⁹⁷In the cursing of his own birth the tormented messenger of God cries out in the final word of his confessions (20.14 ff.). The sole ray of light which illuminates his darkness, lies in the prophet's surmise that he does not bear his pain alone but that it is a sharing of the pain of Yahweh. This is directly asserted in the word to Baruch (45.4 f.) and may be indirectly recognized in 12.7 ff.

⁹⁸Stamm: 68-75: vicarious suffering. The use of the common sacrificial idea אֲשָׁם in 53.10, and the use of the image of the slaughtered animal (suggested of course by

insight which—and here the reserve of the language reaches its climax—is uttered not by the servant himself, but by a fellowship of believers gripped by this event,⁹⁹ the servant's own reaction to his sorrows, as compared with that of Jeremiah, is utterly different. Here is the fulfilment of the עֶבֶד יְהוָה attitude: the עֶבֶד יְהוָה bears in obedience and surrender what Yahweh ordains for him (53.6, 10). In words which are reminiscent of Ezekiel he confesses his unresisting obedience.¹⁰⁰ The image which Jeremiah uses in his confessions of the sheep led to the slaughter, and which in Jer. 11.19 is meant to express the unsuspecting innocence of the prophet encircled by threats,¹⁰¹ is now deepened to express the servant's passive readiness to bear his pain (Isa. 53.7).

(e) What is the source of such a surrender? Is it simply the result of insight into the hidden meaning of a personal experience of sorrow? Or is it merely blind obedience? Here is the second point at which Deutero-Isaiah goes beyond Jeremiah; for he reaches the triumphant recognition that Yahweh will vindicate his servant beyond death and the grave. Alongside the confession of utter submission to the Lord, which is proper to the consciousness of the O.T. עֶבֶד, stands the liberating insight of faith in the ultimate fidelity of Yahweh to the servant whom he has called. Or to express it by means of the two concepts which are implied in the servant's profession of trust (49.4): the servant knows that he will receive from Yahweh his right (מִשְׁפָּט) and his reward (פְּעֻלָּה). Right is the key-word which governs 50.7 ff. In face of the bitter humiliations which he has known, the servant here confesses his firm trust in Yahweh: 'The Lord Yahweh will help

Jeremiah) imply perhaps that the thought of sacrifice is not far away. Yet here too everything is again left in great uncertainty. One may wonder whether, in view of the obvious contacts between Deut. Isa. and Deuteronomic material, there may not be a reference to Moses, that great servant of Yahweh, who was more than a prophet (Bentzen, 64-67, following H. S. Nyberg). Deut. 3.26 reports of him, after he had prayed to be permitted to enter the land of Canaan: 'But Yahweh was angry with me for your sakes.' Nothing is said here of any guilt incurred by Moses which Num. 20.12 seems to imply. Moses bears the anger of Yahweh against his people. There is, however, nothing about a *voluntary* action. On Ex. 32.30 see Stamm, 71.

⁹⁹53.1-11a is set in the context of two passages which illuminate the whole: 52.13-15; 53.11b-12. The second passage takes up the theme of substitution in connexion with 53.1-11a.

¹⁰⁰50.5. Is there a side-glance here at Jeremiah who rebelled in his prophetic suffering (15.19)? See Ezek 2.8, etc., for מַרְה in connexion with the prophet's call.

¹⁰¹In Jer. 12.3 it is applied as a bitter word of revenge against enemies (omitted in the LXX).

me; therefore shall I not be confounded; therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed.' Then the speech breaks out into an apostrophe, and an appeal such as is made by an accused person in a court of law¹⁰²—a favourite mode of expression with Deutero-Isaiah: 'He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me? Let us stand together; who is mine adversary? Let him come near to me. Behold they shall wax old as a garment; the moth shall eat them up.'¹⁰³ As the Lord's servant Job, in the face of all the frustrations of the present, knows that at last Yahweh will manifest his righteousness, so here the servant of the Lord. In 52.13-53.12, on the other hand, it reaches a climax in the thought of Yahweh's reward to his servant. Even greater emphasis, externally, is laid on this whole circle of ideas by the fact that this ultimate goal is expressed not merely in terms of the subjective faith of the servant, but in the words of Yahweh himself, who after the community's words of 53. 1-10a himself speaks and gives his concluding pledge to his servant. By the image of the dividing of the conquered spoil¹⁰⁴ is expressed the vindication which Yahweh will procure for his servant beyond death and the grave (53.12).¹⁰⁵ If in Isa. 53 we seek a didactically formulated expression of what is implied in salvation from death,¹⁰⁶ which is clearly the theme here, we shall be disappointed. There is no such expression. What is said is concealed beneath the image. On the other hand, the promise that Yahweh himself will uphold his servant against death and the grave—and thus show that the servant belongs inseparably to him—is unmistakably ratified.

(f) But finally, in all this is it a question of a mere private happening between the servant and his Lord? It is very striking how in Yahweh's speech introducing his final words (52.13 ff.) there is an emphasis on the effect which the encounter between Yahweh and his servant produces on a wider public. Kings and the great

¹⁰²Begrich, *Studien*, 19-42, 48-49.

¹⁰³Isa. 51.8. The same image of Yahweh's eschatological vindication of right against his enemies.

¹⁰⁴40.10 f. seems also to connect war booty and reward. Again 9.3 illustrates the joy of the eschatological day of salvation by picturing the joy of dividing the spoil.

¹⁰⁵In Job the astonished onlookers were already speaking of the granting of posterity to him who was obviously given over to death.

¹⁰⁶For this whole circle of problems cf. Ch. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des A.T.*, 1947.

The Servant of God

ones of the earth will be astonished at it (52.14 f.). Isa. 49.7 may suggest what Yahweh intends by this public character of the happening. 'Kings shall see and arise, princes shall prostrate themselves—because of Yahweh's fidelity and his choice of thee.' Thus, finally, this vindication and recompense of the servant shall redound to the honour of Yahweh and to the fuller recognition of his fidelity by the whole world. In that the work of the servant is consummated.

II

TRANSLATIONS IN THE LXX

I. THE עֲבָדַי TRANSLATIONS IN THE LXX

עֲבָדַי occurs 807 times in the M.T.¹⁰⁷ The following equivalents¹⁰⁸ are to be found in the LXX: παῖς (παιδίον, παιδάριον) 340 times; δοῦλος, (δουλεία,¹⁰⁹ δουλεύων) 327 times; οἰκέτης (οἶκος) 63 times; θεράπων (θεραπεία, θεραπεύων) 46 times; υἱός once; ὑπηρετής once. Further there are 56 places where there is a misunderstanding or a free translation. The rendering by these various Greek equivalents does not follow the same principles in all the O.T. books, but at different points discloses different principles—a fact which clearly implies a plurality of translators. Since the 272 passages where עֲבָדַי appears in relation to Yahweh are not distinguished by any special type of translation, we must survey the translations of all the עֲבָדַי passages together.

(a) A first important layer of translation is to be found in the books Gen. to Josh. Not that these books show uniformity in the translations they offer. It is strikingly clear even that in Gen. a different hand must have been at work from that which was at work in Ex.¹¹⁰ In Gen. the παῖς title is the rule. Of 88 עֲבָדַי texts, 79 are translated by παῖς, and οἰκέτης occurs five times. In Ex., on the other hand, θεράπων prevails. Of 43 עֲבָדַי texts, 23 are translated by θεράπων; only 8 by παῖς and 6 by οἰκέτης. The Egyptian courtiers called παῖδες in Gen. are here denominated

¹⁰⁷800 times in Heb., 7 times in Aram. text.

¹⁰⁸Text of Rahlfs. In Judg. text B, in Dan. the LXX, and not the Theodotion text of the great manuscripts are used for the statistics. See on Isa. Ziegler, 'Isaias'.

¹⁰⁹The numerous δουλεία-passages to be found in Swete are throughout considered by Rahlfs as itacism and written in the form δουλεία.

¹¹⁰The conclusion by F. Baumgärtel, J. Herrmann and F. Baumgärtel: *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Septuaginta*, 1923, 55, that Gen., as contrasted with the rest of the Pentateuch, occupies a special position, is thus thoroughly confirmed by an examination of the translation of עֲבָדַי.

θεράποντες.¹¹¹ In the subsequent Hexateuch writings the renderings, which in Gen. and Ex. are so characteristically distributed, are mixed: Lev. παῖς 3 times; οἰκέτης 4 times; Num. θεράπων 4 times; παῖς 5 times; οἰκέτης once; Deut. παῖς 9 times; οἰκέτης 8 times; θεράπων 4 times; only Josh. shows again a predominance of παῖς 13 times, though of course θεράπων (3 times) and οἰκέτης (3 times) are not absent. What, however, in spite of these differences characterizes the books of the Hexateuch and unmistakably differentiates it from the following five narrative books is the almost complete absence of δοῦλος. Of the 88 texts of Gen. and the 11 of Num., not a single one is translated by δοῦλος; of the 15 δοῦλος examples in the remaining 4 books of the Hexateuch, 10 can be discounted as referring to Egypt, the house of bondage (οἶκος δουλείας). In Lev. 25.44 the foreign slave is denoted by δοῦλος. Ex. 21.7 (misunderstood in the LXX) seems also to point in this direction. Deut. 32.36 belongs to the Song of Moses, which also in v. 43, the second occurrence of מִצְרָיִם in the Heb. text of the Song of Moses, shows a peculiarity in the Greek translation. Josh. 24.29 (LXX. v.30) seems to be determined by the parallel Judg. 2.8. There remains Josh. 9.23, where in the curse on the Gibeonites δοῦλος occurs. Hence it is clear that δοῦλος has been used quite rarely only in connexion with the special hardships of slavery. Throughout the whole slavery law (Ex. 21.7 excepted) we have παῖς (Ex. 21.2, 5, 20, 32) and οἰκέτης (Ex. 21.26 f.) and also in formulae of submission (Josh. 9.8 f., 11). As regards the courtly style of self-reference we find παῖς in Gen. 18.3, 5, and elsewhere, and οἰκέτης in Ex. 5.16 in the same verse with παῖς. Hence the usage passes over into humble discourse in the presence of Yahweh. Here, too, Jacob can call himself παῖς (Gen. 32.10) or Moses (Ex. 4.10) θεράπων of God. Also where the title is used independently, Moses the servant of Yahweh, is described as θεράπων (Ex. 14.31; Num. 12.7), the patriarchs as οἰκέται (Ex. 32.13) and Caleb (Num. 14.24) like Moses (Josh. 1.13; 12.6, and elsewhere) as παῖς κυρίου. Here again, what is

¹¹¹In Gen. only in 45.16 is the court of Pharaoh מִצְרָיִם וְעֶבְרָיִם translated Φαραώ καὶ ἡ θεραπεία αὐτοῦ. And in 50.17 in humble self-reference the title θεράπων is used in connexion with the name of the God of the fathers: τῶν θεραπόντων τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς σου.

really striking is the complete avoidance of the name δοῦλος which later in Judg. to IV Βασ. just as exclusively governs religious terminology.

The Song of Moses still requires a brief notice. It is remarkable in that v. 36 is the only text in the Hexateuch where the religious δοῦλος idea is met with. But on the other hand v. 43 is the only text where עֶבֶד is translated υἱός. Thus, with unusual emphasis both aspects of the עֶבֶד are underlined. Has Deut. 32 the same translation history as the rest of the Hexateuch?

(b) Alongside the Hexateuchal group of writings which can be characterized only negatively stands the group Judg. to IV Βασ., which can plainly be described by positive features. Here only the two words παῖς and δοῦλος are used to translate עֶבֶד. And, indeed, here is to be noted the neat distinction by which παῖς is used to denote only the category of the free servants of the king who place themselves at his disposal by their own decision (soldiers, ministers, and officials, cf. p. 11). On the other hand, δοῦλος expresses true essential slavery.¹¹² It denotes, therefore, him who is compelled to be a serf even were he a king (II Βασ. 10.19). Naturally, this word is employed in the contemptuous speech of a Saul (I Βασ. 22.8) or even of a Nabal against David (I Βασ. 25.10) even where it refers to him who objectively considered would be in the position of a παῖς. These considerations lead us to conclude that in the whole field of courtly speech, whether one is speaking of himself or another,¹¹³ the δοῦλος title is used. If the עֶבֶד הַמֶּלֶךְ of IV Βασ. 22.12 is described as δοῦλος τοῦ βασιλέως then it must mean that his office is misunderstood in the sense of a menial service. As a rule the distinction is so carefully maintained throughout the whole five books that where there is an apparent deviation the question must seriously be raised whether the translator has not desired to express a slight nuance not contained in the Heb. text (II Βασ. 12.18 f.; 15.34; doubtfully 21.22). In accordance with what has already been said, we see that in humble

¹¹²The slaves of Ziba (II Βασ. 9.10, 12; 19.17) who was himself a παῖς of the house of Saul 9.2; the Egyptian slave of an Amalekite (I Βασ. 30.13).

¹¹³Ahimelech of the servants of Saul, I Βασ. 22.14, called in an objective narrative παῖδες, 6 f., or Ziba in courtly self-description, represented as παῖς in the same verse, II Βασ. 9.2.

self-description in prayer to God the petitioner constantly refers to himself as δοῦλος. The fact that for the great individual figures of Israelite history, for Moses and Joshua as well as for the figures of the kingly line,¹¹⁴ the δοῦλος title is used without exception betrays plainly that the translator wished to view even these great men of history not after the pattern of the free kingly ministry, but after that of the humble slave.

(c) The two groups of writings, Gen. to Josh.¹¹⁵ and Judg. to IV Βασ. show us two phases in the translation history of the LXX. The second of these is plainly recognizable by the determination to achieve a more precise apprehension of the facts in the translation of עֶבֶר. This is expressed in the careful distinction between παῖς and δοῦλος. The first phase is more difficult to explain. It has been suggested that the rule of translation here is based on the fact that the ambiguous παῖς¹¹⁶ best corresponds to the ambiguous עֶבֶר. This purely linguistic explanation may perhaps illuminate the facts so far as Gen. is concerned. Nevertheless, it should be made clear that the ambiguity of the two terms lies in different directions, and that their equivalence is in no sense material and substantial. But whence comes the use of θεραπῶν in Ex.? And why the unmistakable avoidance of the harsh δοῦλος when the promiscuous use of παῖς, οἰκέτης and θεραπῶν becomes the rule (Ex.—Josh.)? The fact that even in the translation of the religious עֶבֶר phrase δοῦλος is avoided, and only παῖς, οἰκέτης and θεραπῶν,¹¹⁷ which is fairly far removed from the O.T. attitude, are used, may well indicate that the translation of the Hexateuch in Hellenistic Judaism shows us a first phase of biblical translation which betrays the uninhibited influence of the Greek feeling for the nearness of God and

¹¹⁴The verse III Βασ. 8.59 LXX (B), in which, as against M.T., Israel itself seems to be understood by the servant, may be considered as an error through homoioteleuton, cf. Rahlfs.

¹¹⁵It may be considered established that Josh. was among the writings first translated and that the Hexateuch, which is beginning to be very problematical as a literary quantity for O.T. criticism (M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, I, 1943, 253), is to be thought of for the translation period as a continuous whole.

¹¹⁶P. Katz (*Philo's Bible*, 1950, 6, n. 1 and Appendix I, 141–6), has shown in regard to the translation of עֶבֶר, for example, that such rules of translation are recognizable. As regards the use of παῖς and δοῦλος in Philo, *ibid.* 83–87.

¹¹⁷TWNT, III, 132, 12 ff. 'The word θεραπεία does not of itself fit into the language of the O.T. religion of revelation, but into that of heathendom (cf. Acts 17.25).

man.¹¹⁸ The translation of the section Judg.—IV Βασ. which took place somewhat later shows the growing awareness of the specific O.T. consciousness of the distance between God and man, and the fact that man belongs to God. In the exclusive use of the harsher δοῦλος idea in religious speech the scandal of the austere sovereignty of God is carried over into the image of man in the Greek Bible.¹¹⁹

(d) Broadly speaking, the later biblical books no longer give the clear picture presented by the two big groups of writings in the earlier part of the LXX. The patterns distinguished above begin to get confused. A general survey shows that the translation of עֶבֶד by θεράπων, the most daring and farthest from the Hebrew, recedes altogether. Apart from the mention in Isa. 54.17,¹²⁰ this translation now appears only in Job where again it is predominant.¹²¹ The Pss. as a whole adopt δοῦλος, which occurs fifty-three times as opposed to παῖς, three times.¹²² In Ezekiel all five religious references to עֶבֶד are translated δοῦλος (Jacob, David, and the prophets) as also are the five in the Dodekapropheton (Moses, David, the prophets) and the two in Ezra (the prophets and the Jerusalem community).¹²³ On the other hand, there is Isaiah. In Proto-Isa. all three, in Deut. Isa. fourteen of the twenty religious עֶבֶד texts are translated by παῖς. In Isa.: Isaiah himself, Eliakim and David; in Deut. Isa.: Israel the prophetic servant.¹²⁴ Dan. is to be linked with it where all twelve references (seven of which are religious) are

¹¹⁸Also παῖς and οἰκέτης express a stronger familiar relationship of the servant than δοῦλος.

¹¹⁹The later variants even in the Hexateuch put δοῦλος. Cf. for example Codex Ambrosianus on Josh. 1.1, 15; Alexandrinus on 14.7.

¹²⁰In the form θεραπεύοντες (κύριον) which may point to a verbal understanding of עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה.

¹²¹Nine out of the total twelve עֶבֶד instances are translated by θεράπων, five of which give the predication of Job as servant of God. Only 1.8 translates by παῖς in the religious sense. LXX (A) assimilates here too while A together with LXX (V) in 42.8 replaces the first of the three instances of θεράπων by παῖς.

¹²²ψ 85.16 in humble self-description in prayer; 112.1 in the description of the community gathered for worship; 17.1 in the prelude of David to a psalm.

¹²³At both points in the transcription in I Εσδρ., the δοῦλος is replaced by παῖς. Cf. II Εσδρ. (Ezra) 5.11; 9, 11 with I Εσδρ. 6.13; 8.82.

¹²⁴It is quite striking that in the translation of Trit. Isa. there is a deviation into the use of δοῦλος pure and simple. We have established above (pp. 16f.) that in Isa. 56–66

translated by παῖς.¹²⁵ In Jer. the confusion of expressions is especially striking. While the formula 'my servants the prophets' in the first half of the book (7.25; 25. 4) is translated by δοῦλος, παῖς occurs later 26.5 (Ἰερ. 33.5); 35.15 (42.15); 44.4 (51.4). In 46.27 (26.27) Jacob is called δοῦλος and then, just beside this, in v. 28, παῖς. That there is a special problem behind the relation of the LXX to Jer.¹²⁶ is suggested by the frequent omission of a word corresponding to עַבְדִּי in the older MSS. The later ones are accustomed to add δοῦλος. The confusion of patterns reaches its climax in Neh. and Chron., where it is no longer possible to see any principle behind the alternation of παῖς and δοῦλος.¹²⁷ In Neh. 1.7 f. Moses is called παῖς (II Εσδρ. 11.7); in 9.14 δοῦλος (II Εσδρ. 19.14) of God. In Nehemiah's humble self-description before God we find in 1.11 (II Εσδρ. 11.11) παῖς and δοῦλος in the same verse. The feeling for the specific content of the terms seems here to have completely vanished. The translation of יהוה עַבְדִּי by ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ in II Chron. 24.6 has been mentioned in n.55.

2. THE TRANSLATION OF SERVANT OF GOD PASSAGES IN DEUTERO-ISAIAH

The phraseology of Isa. 42.1 Ἰακώβ ὁ παῖς μου, ἀντιλήμψομαι αὐτοῦ. Ἰσραήλ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου, προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἢ ψυχὴ μου shows that the LXX understands the introductory

the separation of the pious obedient to God from the impious godless was sharply expressed. Does this explain the fact that in the Greek translation, against three examples of δοῦλος (56.6; 63.17; 65.9) we find the form δουλεύων six times (65.8, 13-15)? This form brings out more the active obedience of the servant. Only once is עַבְדִּי translated by σεβόμενος (66.14; φοβούμενος Origen and Lucian).

¹²⁵Theodotion translates six times by δοῦλος (each time an עַבְדִּי-religious use); only in 3.28 (Δαν. 3.95) is παῖς maintained in religious use.

¹²⁶P. Volz, *Der Prophet Jer.*² (Komm. zum A.T., X, 1928, L); W. Rudolph, *Jeremia* (Handbuch zum A.T., II, 12, 1947, XIX f.).

¹²⁷A comparison with the parallel texts in I-IV Βασιλ. enables us to recognize as a general tendency a strong penetration of παῖς texts. The clearly distinguishable differentiation of παῖς and δοῦλος in Judg. to IV Βασιλ. is in the process completely obscured, without suggesting any conscious plan. Cf. for example Nathan's discourse of promises in II Sam. 7 with I Chron. 17. In seven of the ten comparable texts παῖς has replaced the δοῦλος which occurs in II Sam. alone. So then in Yahweh's discourse of David we find jumbled up together παῖδά μου (17.4) and τῷ δούλῳ μου (17.7) or in the humble self-description before God, τοῦ παιδός σου 17.25 alongside of τὸν δούλόν σου 17.26. Or in I Chron. 18.6 f. where the parallel II Sam. 8.6 f. showed a fine differentiation of παῖς and δοῦλος, παῖς is uniformly used.

words of the servant songs in the narrower sense to refer to Israel (see n.66). The destruction of the threefold parallelism evident in the Heb. text up to v. 4 as a result of the addition of the proper names speaks against the originality of the LXX text. The latter, however, is not only important because it unmistakably shows in what sense it was interpreted and hence is an early witness to the collective interpretation, but also because it shows the secondary penetration into the text of interpretative expansions. In 49.3 too this type of penetration seems at least possible (n.69). In this sense then we must take the LXX interpretation of the passages 42.1-4 (similarly 5-9) and 49.1-6 (with the connecting 7,8-13). The translation of 50.4-9 gives no plain indication of the interpretation of the translator.

On the other hand, 52.13-53.12 of the LXX might well be taken to refer to an individual figure.¹²⁸ The striking rendering of פִּיִּי (53.2) by παιδίον, familiar from the messianic statement of 9.6 (cf. the correctly rendered ῥίζα likewise reminiscent of the messianic text 11.1), raises the question whether the LXX version does not imply a messianic significance. Ἀνέτειλε¹²⁹ which can be reconstructed in 53.2 may point in the same direction.¹³⁰ If so, the Greek translator must have seen in Isa. 52.13-53.12 the description of a messianic figure whose coming he awaits. This last idea is confirmed by the translation of 52.14 f. as a future,¹³¹ which is a clear deviation from the Heb. text. The contemptuous aversion of the many from the servant (v. 14) as also the amazed surrender of peoples and kings (v. 15) is an event which is to take place only in the future. The perfect tenses used in the description of the servant's passion (53.1 ff.)—where in deviation from the Heb. text several present tenses are interpolated¹³²—will then have to be understood as prophetic perfects. Further, we shall ask whether the repeated solemn key-word δόξα, 52.13, 14b, 14c; 53.2, which has no full equivalent in the Heb. text, does not carry the decisive imprint of

¹²⁸Cf. Euler, 85-91.

¹²⁹ἀνηγγείλαμεν which appears in the versions is no doubt to be called, with Ziegler 'Isaias' ad loc. and p. 99, a textual corruption; v. 2 is to be read ἀνέτειλε μὲν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ ὡς παιδίον. For an attempt at interpretation see Euler, 22-23.

¹³⁰ἀνατολή as a translation of the messianic מָשִׁיחַ. See *TWNT*, I, 354 f.

¹³¹ὅν τρόπον ἐκστήσονται . . . οὕτως ἀδοξήσει . . . οὕτως θαυμάσονται . . .

¹³²V.2 οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος; v. 4 φέρει . . . ὀδυνᾶται; v. 8 αἰρέται.

interpretation.¹³³ Here a figure is mentioned which by its childlike nearness to God possesses a secret δόξα. Of course in the sight of men the παῖς appears as a humbled and dishonoured person. Judged by human standards he has no glory.¹³⁴ But by a word of God¹³⁵ the παῖς becomes aware of his secret glory—nay, more than aware. Through his humiliation and death, consequent upon the ignorance of mankind, God leads him to exaltation and glorification.¹³⁶ In this way insight is granted to a number of men that they may apprehend the glory of the παῖς and the meaning of his passion. In 53.1 ff. they express their new recognition. Of course against too strong an emphasis on the thought of δόξα it may be objected that the phrasing of 52.13 ὑψωθήσεται καὶ δοξασθήσεται is a common mode of expression which is to be found also in 10.15; 33.10 and which therefore must not be over-estimated. The echoing of a word which has once been made resonant for the purpose of translating similar statements is a stylistic feature characteristic of 53.¹³⁷ Hence the δόξα phrase ought not perhaps to be singled out as the special interpretative element of the LXX translation. It is plain, however, that the LXX, too, thinks of a passion of the παῖς which leads him to death.¹³⁸ The exaltation following upon this death, the description of which is indebted to the store of images in the Heb. text,¹³⁹ goes, however, beyond the latter in suggesting that judgement is passed on the godless in retribution for their murder of the παῖς.¹⁴⁰ As distinct from the interpretation of the *Targums* which gives us the thought of judgement here too,¹⁴¹ judgement according to the LXX is executed not by the παῖς but by God himself.

¹³³Cf. Euler, 101-7.

¹³⁴52.14b: οὕτως ἀδοξήσει ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων τὸ εἶδος σου καὶ ἡ δόξα σου ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

¹³⁵The whole of 52.14 has been shaped by the LXX as a word of God to the servant.

¹³⁶52.13 συνήσει . . . ὑψωθήσεται . . . δοξασθήσεται.

¹³⁷Also Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 24-25.

¹³⁸53.8b: ὅτι αἰρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἤχθη εἰς θάνατον.

¹³⁹The φῶς of 53.11 has now been confirmed by the Heb. text, see *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (op. cit. in n. 69), plate 44, line 19.

¹⁴⁰53.9: καὶ δώσω τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἀντὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ.

¹⁴¹See Hegermann, 86 f.

III

Παῖς Θεοῦ IN LATE JUDAISM IN THE PERIOD AFTER THE LXX¹⁴²

Παῖς (τοῦ) Θεοῦ occurs only seldom in late Jewish literature after 100 B.C., namely in Wisd. 2.13; 9.4; 12.7, 20; 19.6; Bar. 1.20; 2.20, 24, 28; 3.36; *Ps. Sol.* 12.6; 17.21; I Esd. 6.13, 27; 8.82; in Philo¹⁴³ and Josephus¹⁴⁴ only once (Philo, *Conf. Ling.* 147; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.215); finally in the later Greek translations of the O.T. (Isa. 42.1 Θ v.l., cf. p. 52; Jer. 30.10 Θ; Δαν. 3.95 Θ; Deut. 34.5 Ἀλλ).

I. THE TWOFOLD MEANING OF ΠΑῖς Θεοῦ

In most cases it is quite clear from the context and linguistic usage whether the meaning 'child of God' or 'servant of God' is intended. II Mac. 7.34 (see below) and Bar. 3.36 (cf. p. 45 below) are disputed passages.

(i) ΠΑῖς Θεοῦ = 'child of God'. The plural παῖδες θεοῦ, meaning 'children of God' occurs in four passages in Wisd. as a description of the people of Israel (12.7, 20; 19.6) or of the pious (9.4).¹⁴⁵ It has the same meaning in the one place where it occurs in Philo (*Conf. Ling.* 147).¹⁴⁶ Again in II Mac. 7.34, where the children of Israel are called οἱ οὐράνιοι παῖδες, we should presumably translate 'children of God'¹⁴⁷ rather than 'servants of God'.¹⁴⁸ The singular παῖς θεοῦ with the meaning

¹⁴²Towards the end of the second century B.C. almost the whole of the O.T. already existed in the LXX translation. The evidence both of the Prologue to *Ecclus.* and *Ep. Ar.* points to this date. Therefore 100 B.C. is the starting point for the following treatment of παῖς θεοῦ.

¹⁴³Leisegang, *Index*, 619.

¹⁴⁴Schl. *Theol. d. Judt.*, 50.

¹⁴⁵The meaning 'children of God' results from the interchangeability of παῖδες σου (9.4; 12.20) and υἱοί σου (9.7; 12.19, 21). This is confirmed by what is said below, p. 44, on 2.13.

¹⁴⁶καὶ γὰρ εἰ μήπω ικανοὶ θεοῦ παῖδες νομίζεσθαι γεγόναμεν, none the less 'of his Logos'. The context shows that the meaning is 'children of God'.

¹⁴⁷As also O. Michel, *Hebraerbrief*, on 2.10.

¹⁴⁸Thus the v.l. οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ; cf. 7.33.

'child of God' is only found once, Wisd. 2.13.¹⁴⁹ Here the godless say of the just *παῖδα κυρίου ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζει*. In view of the linguistic usage of the LXX (cf. p. 35) the translation 'servant of God' seems the obvious one.¹⁵⁰ But in the following verse it is further stated that the righteous boasts of God as his father (2.16) and in 2.18 he is described as υἱὸς θεοῦ.¹⁵¹ Since, moreover, in Wisd. we find that the plural phrases *παῖδες θεοῦ* and *υἱοὶ θεοῦ* are interchangeable, the translation 'child of God' must be regarded as the right one.¹⁵² Now in 5.1 ff. Wisd. depicts the righteous in terms derived from Isa. 52.13 ff. (cf. p. 53). This means that the suffering servant of Deut. Isa. has become in Wisd.—by means of the dual significance of *παῖς*—the child of God who in spite of all suffering and misery knows himself to be safe with his Father and rejoices in the fact. The rare appearance of *παῖς θεοῦ* with the meaning 'child of God' is only partially explained by the fact that Hellenistic Judaism prefers for 'child of God' *υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* (occasionally *τέκνον τοῦ θεοῦ*). The real reason for this rarity is that late Judaism less frequently uses the image of a child¹⁵³ than that of a servant¹⁵⁴ to describe the relation of the individual or the people to God.

(ii) *Παῖς Θεοῦ* = 'servant of God'. *Παῖς θεοῦ* more frequently means 'servant of God' in the period subsequent to 100 B.C., which concerns us. This meaning is certainly present in Bar. 1.20; 2.28; Deut. 34.5 ἅλλ where Moses is called *παῖς* of God, since the description of Moses as 'servant of God' is established linguistic usage (cf. n. 183). The same applies to the denotation of the prophets, Bar. 2.20, 24; I Esd. 8.82 by the stereotyped formula (cf. n. 167) *τῶν παίδων σου τῶν προφητῶν*. When *παῖδες* is used of the three men in the fiery furnace (Δαν. 3.95 Θ;¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹Possibly Bar. 3.36 should be added; see p. 45.

¹⁵⁰So K. Siegfried in Kautzsch, *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, I, 1900, 483, cf. Wolff, 41.

¹⁵¹Cf. 5.5: *πῶς κατελογίσθη* (the just) *ἐν υἱοῖς θεοῦ*; ask the sinners at the last judgement.

¹⁵²So also the commentaries by O. F. Fritzsche, *Kurzgefasstes Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des AT*, 6, 1860; P. Heinisch, *Das Buch der Weisheit*, 1912, 51; F. Feldmann, *Das Buch der Weisheit*, 1926; J. Fichtner, *Weisheit Salomos* (Handbuch zum A.T. II), 6, 1938; further Dalman, I, 31, n. 1; Bousset, 48, 54; S-B., I, 219; Dalman *WJ*, 278. Cf. the Syriac of Wisd. 2.13, 18; *ברה דאִלְהָא* = Son of God.

¹⁵³See S-B., I, 219 f., 371 f.

¹⁵⁴Cf. Bousset, 54; Schl. *Theol. d. Judt.*, 50.

¹⁵⁵Also Josephus, *Ant.* 10.215.

The Servant of God in Late Judaism

3.93 Θ δοῦλοι [of God]), the meaning 'servant of God' is again assured. As for I Esd. 6.13 (δοῦλοι II 'Εσδρ. (Ezra) 5.11), 27, the context makes this meaning clear. The meaning of παῖς (of God) can only be doubtful now in those texts already mentioned (cf. n. 177) where the phrase is used collectively; since however in Bar. παῖς θεοῦ is otherwise always used with the meaning 'servant of God' (1.20; 2.20, 24, 28), this meaning is to be accepted for Bar. 3.36: 'Ιακώβ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ, and thence also for Ps. Sol. 12.6; 17.21; in Luke 1.54 a comparison with 1.69 yields the same conclusion. This survey shows that in passages where παῖς θεοῦ has the meaning 'servant of God' the O.T. usage of עֶבֶד יְהוָה, with its various implications, persists.

2. THE PERSISTENCE OF THE O.T. RELIGIOUS USAGE OF עֶבֶד יְהוָה

The O.T. עֶבֶד יְהוָה lives on not only in the Greek παῖς θεοῦ, and the following survey, therefore, must not be confined to παῖς θεοῦ but must (especially in view of the great significance of the expression עֶבֶד יְהוָה for the N.T.) include the occurrence of עֶבֶד (of God), טַלְיָא (of God),¹⁵⁶ מְשִׁיחָא (of God), מְשִׁיחָא (of God);¹⁵⁷ equal to διάκονος θεοῦ;¹⁵⁸ δοῦλος θεοῦ; θεράπων θεοῦ;¹⁵⁹ οἰκέτης θεοῦ;¹⁶⁰ ὑπηρέτης θεοῦ;¹⁶¹ ὑποδιάκονος θεοῦ.¹⁶² Allowing for the fact that the phrase 'my servant', so frequent in the mouth of God in the O.T., now appears only rarely¹⁶³ because the time of the revelation ended with the death of the last writing prophet, we can discern the essentially unchanged persistence of the O.T. עֶבֶד יְהוָה—with, of course, characteristic variations of emphasis.

(i) Παῖς Θεοῦ *as self-descriptive of the worshipper*. The very old humble self-description of the worshipper in the presence of his God as עֶבֶד יְהוָה (cf. p. 14) continues to be used without

¹⁵⁶Gen. 18.3 syr^{pal}; Jer. 30.10 syr^{pal}.

¹⁵⁷For נַעַר cf. n. 194.

¹⁵⁸Only in Josephus, *Bell.* 3.354.

¹⁵⁹Only in Philo, *Leisegang*, *Index*, 384.

¹⁶⁰Only I Esd. 4.59; Ecclus. 36.17(22) (cf. n. 169).

¹⁶¹Only in Philo, *Leisegang*, *Index*, 802.

¹⁶²Only in Philo, *Leisegang*, *Index*, 804.

¹⁶³II Esd. (IV Ezra) 7.28 f.; 13.32, 37, 52; 14.9; *Syr. Bar.* 70.9, cf. 49 f. Each of these passages deals with the designation of the Messiah as 'my (God's) servant'.

modification.¹⁶⁴ But it can hardly be an accident that in the Greek renderings (as distinct from the LXX where *παῖς* alternates with *δοῦλος*) for the period after 100 B.C., examples of *παῖς* (of God) are wanting, and only *δοῦλος* and *διάκονος* (of God) are attested (cf. n. 166, 183, 184); the worshipper's awareness of the distance of God is intended to be unequivocally expressed.

(ii) *The plural 'servants of God'*. Likewise the plural 'servants of God', as in the O.T. (cf. p. 16),¹⁶⁵ remains the current description of the Israelites¹⁶⁶ and the prophets.¹⁶⁷ A new fact is that in contrast with O.T. usage where it appears relatively seldom, and almost always in late writings,¹⁶⁸ the phrase 'servants of Yahweh' occurs with increasing frequency¹⁶⁹ as a description of the

¹⁶⁴*δοῦλος* (of God): *Wisd.* 9.5; *Δαν.* 3.33, 44 Θ (also LXX); 9.17 Θ (LXX *παῖς*); II Mac. 8.29. *οἰκέτης* (of God): I Esd. 4.59. *διάκονος* (of God): Josephus, *Bell.* 3.354. Examples preserved in Latin, Ethiopian, Arabic and Armenian translations only: II Esd. (IV Ezra) 5.45, 56; 6.12; 7.75, 102; 8.6, 24; 10.37; 12.8; 13.14; those preserved in the Syriac only: *Syr. Bar.* 14.15; 48.11; 54.6. *עֲבָדֵי* (of God): *Ecclus.* 36.17 (22) and the 16th Beraka of the *XVIII Blessings* (Palestinian recension); *Shema benediction* *אֱמֹת יִצְיִיב* 1 (W. Staerk, *Altjüdische liturgische Gebete*² [Kleine Text 58, ed. H. Lietzmann], 1930, 6). *עֲבָדֵי* in humble address to God, *Gen.* 18.3 *syr*^{pal} (*Targ. Onkelos and Jonathan I:* *עֲבָדֵי* [=Heb.]; in the Samaritan *Targ.* [publ. A. Brüll, 1879]: *שְׁמַשְׁכֹּן*).

¹⁶⁵Israelites: cf. Lindhagen 82 ff.; prophets: *ibid.*, 277–80. Cf. p. 22 above.

¹⁶⁶*Jub.* 23.30; *Syr. Bar.* 14.15. *παῖδες* (of God): I Esd. 6.13; *Sib.* V. 68 (on II Mac. 7.34 see p. 43). *δοῦλοι* (of God): II Mac. 7.34; 8.29; Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 45. According to Josephus, *Ant.* 11.101, the Jews in the Cyrus edict are designated *δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ*; and *ibid.* 90, they call themselves: *δοῦλοι τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ*. The expression *δοῦλος θεοῦ* is, however, infrequent in Josephus (cf. *Schl. Theol. d. Judt.*, 49 f.). The predominance of *δοῦλος* both in the self-description of the worshipper (n. 164) and in the designation of the Israelites as the servants of God is significant. *עֲבָדִים* (of God): *Mekhilta Ex.* 22.20; *Siphre Num.* 15.41 §115; and further in prayers (cf. n. 164). *עֲבָדֵי* (of God): *Targ. Isa.* 48.20. *מַשְׁרָתִים* (of God): *Mekhilta Ex.* 22.20.

¹⁶⁷*παῖδες* (of God): I Esd. 8.82; *Bar.* 2.20, 24 (in all three places, *τῶν παίδων σου* [of God] *τῶν προφητῶν* [as a formula; cf. *Ἱερ.* 33.5; 42.15; 51.4]). *δοῦλοι* (of God): *Δαν.* 9.6, 10 Θ (LXX: *παῖδες θεοῦ*), cf. *Rev.* 11.18. *ὑπηρέται* (of God): Philo, *Decal.* 18. *ὑποδιάκονοι* (of God): *ibid.* *עֲבָדֵי* (of God): *Targ. Isa.* 50.10. Also in the recently discovered Palestinian texts the prophets are repeatedly called 'servants of God'; see *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (op. cit. in n. 69) I, plate 55, col. 2, line 9; plate 58, col. 7, line 5; *ibid.* II, 2: 'Manual of Discipline', 1951, col. 1, line 3.

¹⁶⁸Lindhagen, 233–62.

¹⁶⁹*παῖδες* (of God): Josephus, *Ant.* 10.215 (of the three men in the fiery furnace as *Δαν.* 3.93, 95 LXX; 3.95 Θ). *δοῦλοι* (of God): II Mac. 7.6 (=LXX *Deut.* 32.36), 33; 8.29; *Ps. Sol.* 2.37; 10.4; Philo, *Det. Pot. Ins.* 146; *Rer. Div. Her.* 7; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.90, 101; *Δαν.* 3.85 Θ. *θεράποντες* (of God): Philo, *Det. Pot. Ins.* 62. *עֲבָדֵי*

pious. The priests too are described in this way¹⁷⁰ after the O.T. pattern.¹⁷¹ Further, proselytes¹⁷² are now at times so named, as are parents¹⁷³ and the angels.¹⁷⁴

(iii) *The collective linguistic use.* The new collective use of the singular **עֶבֶד יְהוָה** as a description of Israel, first clearly to be seen in Deut. Isa. (cf. p. 17),¹⁷⁵ also persists after 100 B.C. both in Hellenistic and Palestinian Judaism. But examples of the use of the title 'servant of God' for Israel, if we exclude O.T. quotations and late translations of the O.T.,¹⁷⁶ are not numerous.¹⁷⁷

(of God): *Targ. Isa.* 42.19 (n. 219); 44.26 (n. 221). The description of the pious as **οἰκέται** (of God), *Ecclus.* 36.17 (22) **Α Α**, is original, as the Heb. text (**עֲבָדִי**) shows. The reading **ἰκετῶν** (suppliants) instead of **οἰκετῶν** is a scribal error.

¹⁷⁰**θεράποντες** (of God): Philo, *Spec. Leg.* I, 242; in the same place the high priest is called (ibid. 116) **ὑποδιάκονος** (of God). **λειτουργοί θεοῦ**: *Spec. Leg.* IV, 191.

¹⁷¹Cf. Lindhagen, 107-20.

¹⁷²**עֲבָדִים** (of God): *Mekhilta Ex.* 22.20. **משרתים** (of God): ibid. The LXX in translating Isa. 66.14 **עֲבָדִים** (of God) by **σεβόμενοι αὐτόν** (**Α Α**) or **φοβούμενοι αὐτόν** (**Β**) is thinking no doubt of the proselytes.

¹⁷³**ὑπηρέται** (of God): Philo, *Decal.* 119.

¹⁷⁴**δοῦλοι** (of God): *Ps. Sol.* 18.21. **θεράποντες** (of God): Philo, *Fug.* 67. **ὑπηρέται** (of God): Philo, *Mut. Nom.* 87; *Som.* I, 143. **ὑποδιάκονοι** (of God): Philo, *Spec. Leg.* I, 66; *Migr. Abr.* 115. **משרתים** (of God): *Heb. Enoch* 1.8; 4.1; 6.2 f.; 19.6; 40.1. **שמשין** (of God): *Mekhilta Ex.* 20.23 par. *B. Rosh Hashana* 24b; *Targ. Isa.* 6.2, etc. In *Spec. Leg.* I, 31 Philo calls the heavenly bodies **ὑποδιάκονοι θεοῦ**. In *B. Chul.* 60a the sun is described as one of the **שמשין** of God.

¹⁷⁵*Isa.* 41.8, 9; 44.1, 2, 21 (twice); 45.4; 48.20; 49.3; to which must be added as the tenth instance LXX *Isa.* 42.1: **Ἰακώβ ὁ παῖς μου** (M.T. only **עֶבֶדִי**), see p. 52. Further, outside Deut. Isa., in the Heb. text Jeremiah 30.10 (missing in the LXX, though **Θ** offers **παῖς**); 46.27 f. (=LXX **Ἰερ.** 26.27: **δοῦλος**, v. 28: **παῖς**); *Ps.* 136.22 (=LXX **ψ** 135.22: **δοῦλος**); on Ezek. 28.25 and 37.25 cf. n. 41. Also without Heb. equivalent: LXX III *Bas.* 8.34 **ΒΑ**; 16.2 **Α**; **ψ** 134.12 **Α Α** (in all three places: **δοῦλος**). In all these instances 'Jacob' and 'Israel' have collective significance. Since the application of this title to the people ('my servant Israel', 'Jacob' [collectively]) is not certainly attested in the O.T. before Deut. Isa. in all those passages the influence of Deut. Isa. is to be assumed. Cf. Bentzen, 63, and n. 35 above.

¹⁷⁶E.g., *Jer.* 30.10 **Θ**: **σὺ δὲ μὴ φοβοῦ, παῖς μου Ἰακώβ** (*syr*^{Pal}: **טְלִי; Targ. עֲבָדִי**). For the translation and the understanding of the collective servant texts of Deut. Isa. (enumerated in n. 175), in late Palestinian Judaism, see p. 54 below. We shall remark here that *Targ. Isa.* (following the Heb. text) 41.8, 9; 44.1, 2, 21 (twice); 45.4; 49.3 retains the phrase 'servant of God' and understands it to mean Israel collectively; only in 48.20 has the *Targ.* replaced the singular of the Heb. text by the plural.

¹⁷⁷*Bar.* 3.36: **Ἰακώβ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ** (cf. LXX *Isa.* 44.2: **παῖς μου Ἰακώβ καὶ ὁ ἡγαπημένος Ἰσραὴλ ὃν ἐξελεξάμην**); *Ps. Sol.*, 12.6: **Ἰσραὴλ παῖδα αὐτοῦ** (of God); 17.21: **Ἰσραὴλ παῖδά σου** (of God); cf. Luke 1.54 (reference to *Isa.* 41.8) and p. 79 below; for rabbinic examples cf. n. 213.

(iv) Παῖς θεοῦ as a title of honour for outstanding instruments of God. Finally עֶבֶד יְהוָה, in accordance with general oriental and pre-exilic usage, continues to be used as a title of honour for outstanding instruments¹⁷⁸ of God (cf. pp. 18 ff.), though apart from scriptural quotations,¹⁷⁹ almost only in old formulae—especially prayers. Examples are not numerous. In Philo this usage is altogether absent.¹⁸⁰ In Josephus we find only the description of Moses as δοῦλος θεοῦ,¹⁸¹ and of the three men in the fiery furnace as παῖδες τοῦ θεοῦ.¹⁸² In the whole of the *Mishnah* the title ‘servant of God’ appears only three times and then only in the three confessional formulae of the high priest on the Day of Atonement; in these three texts the formula is: כְּכֹהֵן בְּתוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה עֶבֶד (Yoma, 3.8 [=T. Yoma, 2.1]; 4.2; 6.2). This title of honour is firmly established only for Moses¹⁸³ and secondarily for David;¹⁸⁴ occasionally it is used for Noah,¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁸G. Sass quite rightly stresses (‘Zur Bedeutung von δοῦλος bei Paulus’, *ZNW*, 40, 1941, 24–32) that the title ‘servant of God’ in the O.T. and the N.T. conveys the thought of divine election. The decisive point is not the readiness to serve on the part of the human being concerned, but the divine appointing.

¹⁷⁹*Siphre Deut.* §27, on 3.24, produces a long list of these O.T. figures described as ‘servants of God’.

¹⁸⁰It is significant for Philo that he replaces the expression Ἀβραάμ τοῦ παιδὸς μου (LXX Gen. 18.17) by Ἀβραάμ τοῦ φίλου μου (*Sobr.* 56). Cf. Katz (loc. cit. in n. 116).

¹⁸¹Josephus, *Ant.*, 5.39.

¹⁸²Josephus, *Ant.*, 10.215.

¹⁸³παῖς (of God): Bar. 1.20; 2.28 (both texts in one and the same prayer of penitence). δοῦλος (of God): Josephus, *Ant.*, 5.39 (prayer), cf. Rev. 15.3. θεράπων (of God): Wisd. 10.16 (poetic praise of the divine wisdom), cf. I Cl. 51.3, 5; 53.5; *Barn.* 14.4. עֶבֶד (of God): IV Ezra 14.31 ^{syz} (Ezra’s last words to the people), see l. 13 above (formula for the confession of sins). The later Greek translations call Moses δοῦλος (of God): Ex. 4.10 Ἀ; Josh. 1.15 Ἀ, Σ, Θ; Δαν. 9.11 Θ; only Deut. 34.5 Ἀλλ has παῖς κυρίου.

¹⁸⁴The description of David as ‘servant of God’ is to be found solely in prayers (with the exception of the later O.T. translations); I Mac. 4.30 (τοῦ δούλου σου Δαυίδ); IV Ezra 3.23 and the 15th Beraka of the *XVIII Blessings* (Babylonian recension), v.l. (+ עֶבֶדךָ); an old Musaf prayer which is interpolated on the days of the new moon into the 17th (16th) benediction of the *XVIII Blessings* reads: זְכוֹרֵן מֹשֶׁה בֶּן דָּוִד עֶבֶדךָ (W. Heidenheim, *שפת אמת*, 1886, 21; S. R. Hirsch, *דוד תפלות*, *Israel’s Gebete*, 1921, 146, 274, 624); and the prayer of the passover *haggada* before the fourth cup reads דָּוִד בֶּן־יִשִׁי עֶבֶדךָ מִשִּׁיחַ. Cf. Luke 1.69; Acts 4.25; *Did.* 9.2 (in all three places παῖς [of God]); these early Christian usages, too, come from prayers. The later Greek translations of the Bible always call David δοῦλος (of God): III Bx 11.36 Ἀ, Σ; 14.8 Ἀ; ψ 35.1 Ἀ. Σ; Isa. 37.35 Ἀ, Σ, Θ.

¹⁸⁵IV Ezra 3.11 Armenian (prayer).

The Servant of God in Late Judaism

Abraham,¹⁸⁶ Isaac,¹⁸⁷ Jacob (cf. n. 186), Aaron,¹⁸⁸ Elijah,¹⁸⁹ and the three men in the fiery furnace.¹⁹⁰ In the mouth of non-Jews the title 'servant of God' is applied to Zerubbabel¹⁹¹ and, following the O.T. text, to Daniel¹⁹² and the three men in the fiery furnace.¹⁹³ In *Heb. Enoch* Metatron, the heavenly vicegerent, bears the title עֶבֶר (of God).¹⁹⁴

(v) 'Servant of God' as denoting the Messiah. Besides all this, 'servant of God' is met with denoting the Messiah. In the O.T. itself the Messiah is five times called 'my servant': Ezek. 34.23 f.; 37.24 f. (all four texts: עֶבְרִי דָוִד) and Zech. 3.8 (עֶבְרִי צְמַח).¹⁹⁵ Subsequently, in II Esd. (IV Ezra) 7.28; 13.32, 37, 52; 14.9 (throughout 'my servant'); 7.28 v.l., 29; *Syr. Bar.* 70.9 ('my servant, the Messiah');¹⁹⁶ *Targ. Isa.* 42.1; 43.10; 52.13; *Targ. Zech.* 3.8; (in all

¹⁸⁶II Mac. 1.2 Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ (of God) τῶν πιστῶν (blessing); *Syr. Bar.* 4.4 (divine discourse).

¹⁸⁷Cf. n. 186; Δαν. 3.35 Θ (=LXX): διὰ Ἰσαάκ τὸν δοῦλόν σου (prayer).

¹⁸⁸*Heb. Enoch* 2.3: מִשְׁרָת (of God).

¹⁸⁹The third benediction after the reading of the prophets in the worship service: 'make us to rejoice, Yahweh, our God' בְּאֵלֵהוּ הַנְּבִיא עֲבָדְךָ (Hirsch, op. cit. in n. 184, 342).

¹⁹⁰Josephus, *Ant.*, 10.215; τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ θεοῦ. See n. 169.

¹⁹¹I 'Εσδρ. 6.27: τὸν παῖδα κυρίου Ζοροβάβελ; cf. n. 195.

¹⁹²Δαν. 6.20 Θ: ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζώντος (vocative).

¹⁹³Δαν. 3.95 Θ (παῖδες of God); 3.93 Θ (δοῦλοι of God).

¹⁹⁴1.4; 10.3; 48 C 1. D 1. (17th of the 70 names). D 9. Also in later times the Metatron keeps the title יְהוָה עֶבֶד (cf. Odeberg II, 28). If he is called נַעַר, *Heb. Enoch* 2.2; 3.2; 4.1 f., this word as elsewhere (examples in Odeberg II, 173) is the equivalent of עֶבֶד in the meaning 'servant'. Cf. also n. 256.

¹⁹⁵Cf. further Hag. 2.23 where Zerubbabel is called עֶבְרִי (LXX: τὸν δοῦλόν μου) and receives the promise that he shall be 'as a signet'.

¹⁹⁶In the passages alluded to in IV Ezra the description of the Messiah fluctuates in the different versions. The rival terms are 'my son' (throughout *Lat.* and *Syr.*; *Eth.* 13.52; 14.9; *Sabidic* translation 13.32), 'my child' (*Arab.*, edition by G. H. A. Ewald, 1863, 7.28), 'my young man' (ibid. 13.32, 37, 52; 14.9; *Arab.*, edition by J. Gildemeister, 1877, 13.37; *Eth.* 13.37) and 'my servant' (*Arab.*, ed. J. Gildemeister, 13.32, 52; 14.9; *Eth.* 7.29). All these translations go back to the παῖς of the Greek source, which lies behind the surviving translations of IV Esd. Cf. B. Violet, *Die Apokalypsen des Esra und des Baruch in deutscher Gestalt* (GCS 32, 1924, 74 f.): 'No Christian would ever have changed υἱός to παῖς but the opposite might easily have happened.' This conclusive proof has met with general consent. Cf. Harnack, *Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes'*, 212 f.; A. v. Gall, «Βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ», 1926, 417; Gressmann, *Messias*, 383 f.; J. Jeremias, «Erlöser und Erlösung», 110 f.; and «Ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ», 120 n. 29; Buber, 77; Torrey, 'The Messiah', 260. J. Drummond had already correctly judged the state of affairs in *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877, 285-9; and Bousset had independently recognized the truth (53) on the basis of IV Ezra given

four texts עבדי משיחא; *Targ.* Ezek. 34.23 f.; 37.24 f. (in all four texts עבדי דוד). This exhausts the examples. Quite striking is the complete absence of the denotation of the Messiah as 'servant of God' in the whole of the rest of rabbinic literature, apart from quotations. With regard to the reason for this silence cf. p. 75 below. Thus in the whole of the O.T. and late Jewish literature the description of the Messiah as God's servant occurs without exception only in the form 'my servant' and only in the mouth of God. We have here a biblical phrase which survived up to the end of the first century A.D., then disappeared and survived only in quotation. 'Servant of God' as a real title for the Messiah never existed in Judaism, as is shown by its restriction to divine discourse.

3. INTERPRETATIONS OF DEUTERO-ISAIAH 'SERVANT OF GOD' PASSAGES

With reference to the N.T. it is of special importance to note how late Judaism interpreted the 'ebed passages of Deut. Isa. If we except three places where historical figures are named עבדי by God (Isa. 20.3: Isaiah; 22.20: Eliakim; 37.35: David), in the whole book the singular 'servant of God' occurs only in chapters 41-53, the number of occurrences being nineteen: 41.8, 9; 42.1, 19 (twice); 43.10; 44.1, 2, 21 (twice), 26 (but cf. n.221); 45.4; 48.20; 49.3, 5, 6; 50.10; 52.13; 53.11. For the investigation of the interpretation of these passages in late Judaism it is essential that various all too common sources of error should be avoided. First it must be borne in mind that, like the distinction between Proto-, Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah, so also the modern delimitation of the servant songs is completely unknown to that period. Hence the study must not be limited to the latter or to Isa. 53. Then it must be realized that the atomistic character of exegesis at that time does not permit us to presuppose a uniform interpretation of the 'ebed; *Targ.* Isa., for example, explains certain servant passages as applying to the people, others as referring to the prophets and yet others as speaking of the Messiah (pp. 66ff. and n. 291). The conception of the 'ebed as it is formulated in modern research 'does

by B. Violet, *Die Esra-Apokalypse I (IV Ezra)* (GCS 18, 1910). *Syr. Bar.* 70.9 calls the Messiah עבדי, the Greek text lying behind the Syriac also probably reads παῖς; this may be assumed because of the state of affairs in IV Ezra which has παῖς.

not exist at all in Jewish interpretation'.¹⁹⁷ Interpretations of single passages must therefore not be generalized. Further, careful distinction must be made between mere allusions and applications of isolated words in other connexions, whatever they may be, on the one hand, and deliberate exegesis on the other.¹⁹⁸ The latter alone has real weight. Finally, it must not be forgotten that the Diaspora, partly as a result of divergent readings in the LXX, developed its own special traditions of exegesis; Hellenistic and Palestinian statements must not be placed on the same level.

(i) *Hellenistic Judaism*. (a) While the LXX predominantly renders Deutero-Isaiah's **יְהוָה עַבְדּוֹ** by **παῖς**,¹⁹⁹ though **δοῦλος** does appear three times,²⁰⁰ subsequently, however, **δοῦλος** completely disappears in references to the servant of God based on Deut. Isa. The servant is consistently called **παῖς** in Jewish Hellenistic literature subsequent to the composition of the LXX.²⁰¹ That remains so until A.D. 100. As a result of its ambiguity the phrase **παῖς θεοῦ** could be understood either as 'servant of God' (thus the LXX) or as 'child of God' (thus Wisd., cf. p. 43 above). The further the distance from the original Hebrew text the more the second conception ('child of God') prevailed in the Jewish Hellenistic understanding of Isa. 40 ff.

Only after the beginning of the second century does the picture change, and that radically. Aquila²⁰² (cf. n. 263) always

¹⁹⁷Cf. Fischel, 54.

¹⁹⁸Rightly stressed by Moore, I, 229, 541; III, 166 n. 255 (on I, 551); cf. further Schlatter *BFT* 16.6, 1912, 50; K.G. Kuhn, *Siphrē Num.*, 'Rabbinische Texte', 2nd series, Tannaitische Midrashim, 1933 ff., 527; also Sjöberg, 119. Fischel, 59 n. 24, sought to establish rules for the distinction between mere allusion and deliberate exegesis.

¹⁹⁹41.8, 9; 42.1, 23 **Α**; 43.10; 44, 1, 2, 21 (twice), 26; 45.4; 49.6; 50.10; 52.13; also plural **οἱ παῖδες μου** for Heb. **יְהוָה עַבְדֵּי** 42.19a.

²⁰⁰48.20; 49.3, 5; also plural **οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ** for Heb. **יְהוָה עַבְדֵּי**, 42.19b; and **δουλεύοντα** for Heb. **יְהוָה עַבְדֵּי**, 53.11.

²⁰¹J. Jeremias, « Ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ », 118-21.

²⁰²Justin, *Dial.* constantly alludes to a new Greek translation of the O.T. deviating from the LXX and regarded as authoritative by his opponents (120.4; 124.2 f.; 131.1 and 137.3) and also to the slight esteem in which the LXX was held by them (43.8; 67.1; 68.7; 71.1-73.5; 84.3 f.). A. Rahlfs has attempted to show that this new translation is that of Aquila ('Über Theodotion-Lesarten im N.T. und Aquila-Lesarten bei Justin', *ZNW*, 20, 1921, 194-9) for Micah 4.1 (quoted Justin, *Dial.* 109.2). Origen, *Ep. ad Julium Africanum* (Migne, PG 11, 52 B) says of Aquila: **φιλοτιμώτερον πεπιστευμένος παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἡρμηνευμέναι τὴν γραφὴν ὅ μάλιστα εἰώθασι οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον χρῆσθαι, ὥς πάντων μᾶλλον ἐπιτετευγμένῳ** (because he had succeeded best of all).

calls Deutero-Isaiah's servant δοῦλος.²⁰³ The question as to what determined his choice of word is answered by the observation that he also renders עֶבֶד by δοῦλος outside Isa. 40 ff. Thus he is merely following his strictly practised translation technique of rendering Heb. roots everywhere by the same Greek roots.²⁰⁴ Hence for his translation of עֶבֶד by δοῦλος in Isa. 40 ff. we may ascribe to him no other motive than the desire for accurate translation.²⁰⁵ His example was followed by his successors. Theodotion also renders עֶבֶד by δοῦλος. Accordingly he calls the servant of God δοῦλος in all the extant servant passages in Isa. 40 ff. (41.8, 9; 42.1; 49.6); only in 42.1 Θ a v.l. reads παῖς (=LXX).²⁰⁶ The translation of the Jewish Christian Symmachus, following the model of Aquila, renders עֶבֶד as δοῦλος.²⁰⁷

(b) The exegesis of Deutero-Isaiah's servant of God in Hellenistic Judaism was determined by the fact that the LXX had extended the collective interpretation which the Heb. text gave in nine places (cf. n. 175) to other passages (cf. p. 41 above). Thus in Isa. 42.19 the LXX rendered the singular of the Heb. text twice as a plural (עֶבְדִּי=LXX οἱ παῖδές μου; עֶבֶד יְהוָה=LXX οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ).²⁰⁸ Especially far-reaching in consequence was the fact that the LXX understood the phrase 'my servant' as collective also in Isa. 42.1, and expressed this sense by the addition of the word Ἰακώβ: Ἰακώβ ὁ παῖς μου (Heb.

²⁰³Preserved in Isa. 41.8, 9; 42.1; 49.6; 52.13.

²⁰⁴Aquila practises this principle with such astonishing consistency that one is led simply to suppose that before beginning his translation he prepared for himself a Heb.-Greek Lexicon. Cf. *Septuaginta*, ed. A. Rahlfs, 1935, I, x.

²⁰⁵The supposition expressed by Euler (88) with reservations, by Zolli (229 f.), and by J. Jeremias, 'Zum Problem der Deutung von Js. 53 im palästinischen Spätjudentum' in *Aux sources de la tradition chrétienne* (Mélanges offerts à M. Goguel), 1950, 115 f., that Aquila's disinclination to render עֶבֶד by παῖς is connected with anti-Christian tendencies, cannot therefore be maintained; Hegermann, 29 f.

²⁰⁶Thus Q and the syro-hexaplarist translation. Theodoret of Cyrus maintained, however, that Theodotion translated Isa. 42.1 עֶבֶד by δοῦλος. It speaks for the correctness of the reading δοῦλος that Theodotion always appears to render עֶבֶד by δοῦλος and that παῖς (cf. Hatch and Redpath ad loc.) simply does not occur in the fragments which have come down to us from him (except the v.l. on Isa. 42.1).

²⁰⁷Preserved in Isa. 41.8, 9; 42.1, 19 (twice); 49.6; 52.13.

²⁰⁸Cf. further Isa. 44.26 where LXX (A) translates עֲבָדוּ (of God) plurally by παίδων αὐτοῦ and Isa. 48.20 where LXX (A) renders יַעֲבֹדוּ עֲבָדוּ by τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ.

only עֶבְרִי). Thus there arose a bifurcation in the understanding of Isa. 42.1 ff.; following the LXX, Hellenistic Judaism refers the text to the people of Israel,²⁰⁹ and Palestinian Judaism understands it throughout as messianic (see pp. 59, 61 and n. 262; pp. 67, 71 and n. 306).

A further similar bifurcation is to be noted with regard to Isa. 53. Hellenistic Judaism, so far as we know, interprets the suffering servant in a collective sense, as distinct from its messianic interpretation in Palestinian Judaism. This collective interpretation we find first in Wisd., which describes the just man, called παῖς κυρίου 'child of God' (2.13, cf. p. 44), and his fate in close connexion with Isa. 52.13 ff. This applies above all to the final judgement scene where (Wisd. 4.20 ff.) the sinners confess, trembling, that they have scorned and misesteemed the just and have departed from the way of truth. Here, in trait after trait, there is allusion to Isa. 52.13 ff.; cf. Wisd. 4.18, with Isa. 53.3; Wisd. 4.20; 5.3, with Isa. 52.15; Wisd. 5.3 f., with Isa. 53.2-4; Wisd. 5.5 (κληῆρος), with Isa. 53.12 (κληρονομήσει); Wisd. 5.6 f., with Isa. 53.6; Wisd. 5.15 f., with Isa. 53.10-12; further, Wisd. 2.13, with Isa. 52.13; 53.11; Wisd. 2.19 f., with Isa. 53.7 f.²¹⁰ The παῖς θεοῦ of Isa. 52.13 ff. is thus for Wisdom the type of the just man. Obviously then for this writer the collective interpretation of Isa. 53 was current.²¹¹ We find a further example in Origen, *Contr. Cels.* 1.55: he says that Jews with whom he came into contact interpreted Isa. 53 collectively 'of the people considered as a person who had been scattered and tormented.' Whereas for Palestinian Judaism of the first millennium A.D. the collective application of the servant of Isa. 53 to Israel is completely unknown (it appears first in Rashi, died 1105),²¹² for Hellenistic Judaism it was usual, as Wisdom shows. We must therefore assume that the informants of Origen were Hellenistic Jews.

To sum up, Hellenistic Judaism is inclined to understand the παῖς θεοῦ of Deutero-Isaiah as 'child of God' and prefers the collective interpretation.

²⁰⁹ Justin, *Dial.* 123.8 f.; cf. Dalman, I. 32 and Fischel, 59.

²¹⁰ Cf. Dalman, I. 32, n. 1.

²¹¹ W. Staerk, 'Zur Exegese von Jesaias 53 im Diasporajudentum', *ZNW*, 35, 1936, 308.

²¹² Dalman, I. 34 f.; S.-B. I. 481.

The Servant of God

(ii) *Palestinian Judaism*. In Palestinian Judaism of the first millennium three distinct interpretations of the Deutero-Isaiah servant are found. It is important to note that—with some exceptions—these three interpretations do not overlap but each of them is limited to certain of the nineteen passages (cf. p. 50) referring to the servant.

(a) *The collective interpretation* (Isa. 41.8 f.; 42.19 [twice]; 44.1, 2, 21 [twice]; 45.4; 48.20; 49.3, 5 f. [?]; 50.10). In the Heb. text the collective application of Deutero-Isaiah's servant of God to the people of Israel was present in nine of the nineteen passages (Isa. 41.8 f.; 44.1, 2, 21 [twice]; 45.4; 48.20; 49.3). Thus was established²¹³ for the following centuries the application to Israel of these nine passages, as *Targ.* Isa. shows (see n. 176). Under the influence of Isa. 49.3 ('My servant art thou, Israel') the *Targ.* appears, moreover, to see an allusion to Israel in the following verses (5, 6)²¹⁴. Other servant passages were not in the older rabbinic tradition, as distinct from the Hellenistic (cf. pp. 52 f.), applied to Israel.²¹⁵ In particular, Isa. 53 in Palestinian, rabbinic Judaism of the first millennium A.D. was nowhere referred to Israel (cf. p. 53); rather in rabbinic literature the collective application to Israel was strictly confined to those passages and their context where the Heb. text demanded it.²¹⁶

As far as the application of individual servant passages to the

²¹³ Applications of this text to Israel are to be found outside *Targ.* in the following places: Isa. 41.8f.: Luke 1.54; *Gen.R.* 44.3 on 15.1; Isa. 44.2; Bar. 3.36 (cf. n. 177); *Midr. Ps.* 111 §1; Isa. 49.3: *Siphre Deut.* §355 on 33.26, par. *Mekhilta Ex.* 15.2; *Lev.R.* 2 on 1.2; *Ex.R.* 21 on 14.15 (for further comments on Isa. 49.3 see Dalman, I, 97, n. 1).

²¹⁴ *Targ.* Isa. 49.5 f. is usually thus understood; cf. Dalman, I, 97, n. 1; Humbert, 25, n. 5; S.-B., II, 330; Seidelin, 202. But it cannot be stated quite confidently, in view of the alteration of the number of whom the *Targ.* was thinking in referring to the 'serving servant' (*Targ.* Isa. 49.5 *singular*) and the 'servants of God' (*Targ.* Isa. 49.6 *plural*). Fischel, 60, 74, rightly sets a question mark against the applications of *Targ.* Isa. 49.5 f. to Israel. (On the sentence construction and translation of *Targ.* Isa. 49.5 f. cf. the notes of Humbert, 25, n. 5, which are worth consideration.) For the interpretation of Isa. 49.6 in rabbinic literature cf. n. 305.

²¹⁵ According to Fischel, 76, Isa. 42.19 was referred to Israel in rabbinic literature, but he gives no example. Presumably he is thinking of *Targ.* Isa. 42.19 where, however, it is a question of penitent sinners (cf. n. 219).

²¹⁶ The correct observation of Fischel, 65 f., that 'in the tannaitic and amoraic periods, apart from the reports of Justin and Origen, applications to Israel in 42.1 ff., 50.4 ff. and ch. 53 are lacking', must be extended to include the points (1) that it should be made to cover all the servant passages of Deut. Isa. except those mentioned above; and (2) that for Palestinian rabbinic Judaism the reservation made with regard to Justin (cf. n. 209) and Origen (cf. p. 53), is to be expunged.

just, the prophets and the scribes, is concerned, the following points are to be noted: it is merely a question of *allusions* when in Ecclus. 11.13²¹⁷ a free quotation from Isa. 52.15 is applied to the suffering saints (cf. *TWNT*, III, 30 n.17) and in Dan. 12.3²¹⁸ a phrase from Isa. 53.11 is applied, in the plural, to the teachers of Israel. But we have *exegesis* when in *Targ.* Isa. 42.19 (twice) the servant is connected with penitent sinners,²¹⁹ and in 50.10 with the prophets.^{220, 221} In *B. Ber.* 5a (*Rab Huna*, died 297) and *Seder Eliahu R.* 7²²² Isa. 53.10 is applied to penitent sufferers; *B. Yoma* 86a, applies Isa. 49.3 (*Abbaye*, died 338/9) and *Seder Eliahu R.* 14 and 25²²³ applies Isa. 53.11 to upright teachers of the *tōrah*; but in these last-named five cases words are isolated from their context, so that inferences with regard to the interpretation of the latter are precluded.²²⁴ Only in isolated instances has Palestinian Judaism applied Deut. Isa. servant passages to the just, the prophets and the scribes.²²⁵

(b) *Application to the prophet Isaiah* (Isa. 49.5; 50.10). It must have seemed obvious to interpret some of the servant passages as self-expressions of the prophet; this is true especially of the description of suffering given in the first person in Isa. 50.4 ff., which reaches its climax in the summons to hear the voice of

²¹⁷ויתמהו עליו רבים ('and many will be astonished at him') is the earliest existing reference to Isa. 52.13 ff.

²¹⁸מַצְדִּיקֵי הָרַבִּים ('which have brought many to righteousness').

²¹⁹*Targ.* Isa. 42.19: 'will not the wicked when they return be called "my servant"' (Heb. עֲבָדִי, *Targ. Codd.* also; only *Codex Orientalis*, 1474 [British Museum], has the plural עֲבָדֵי)? If they return they will be called the "servants of God" (Heb. עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה; *Targ.* has the plural דִּיהוּה).

²²⁰Heb. עֲבָדָיו is rendered by the *Targ.* with עֲבָדֵי נְבִיאָא.

²²¹On the other hand it is questionable whether *Targ.* Isa. 44.26 belongs here. In this text the Heb. עֲבָדָיו is indeed rendered by עֲבָדֵי צְדִיקָא. But the *parallelismus membrorum* makes it probable that the form עֲבָדֵי was intended as a plural עֲבָדֵי in the original text (thus *BHK*²,³ ad loc.) and since the LXX (παῖδες αὐτοῦ) has so understood the Heb. text, it is questionable whether the *Targ.* likewise has not so read the original text. In that case *Targ.* Isa. 44.26 would not be an example of the collective interpretation of the servant, but of the use of the plural to denote the pious. Cf. n. 169.

²²²S.-B., I, 484. At the earliest, second half of the fifth century; according to Strack, *Eintl.* 220: second half of the tenth century.

²²³S.-B., I, 484 f.

²²⁴Cf. the warning of Moore, III, 166, n. 225.

²²⁵For mediaeval authors who represent this view, cf. Fischel, 61, 74-76.

the servant (v. 10). In point of fact the commentary of Jerome on Isaiah attests specifically, and with reference to v. 10, that the Jews explained this section as bearing on the prophet Isaiah himself.²²⁶ Isa. 49.5,²²⁷ which also has the 'I' form, is at times referred to Isaiah.²²⁸ The extension of this interpretation to Isa. 53.7 f. in the question of the treasurer (Acts 8.34) has on the other hand no parallel in the history of the time.²²⁹

The recurring applications of individual servant passages to particular persons are without significance. For the linking of Isa. 41.8 with the patriarch Jacob (*Siphre Deut.* §27 on 3.24), of עֲבָדָיו, Isa. 43.10, with David (*Midr. Ps.* 51 §3 on 51.6), of Isa. 44.26 with the angel with whom Jacob wrestled (*Gen. R.* 78.3 on 32.27 f. by R. Levi *circa* 300), of Isa. 49.8 f. with Noah and his family²³⁰ who left the ark with him, and of Isa. 50.10 with Abraham (*Gen. R.* 60 on 24.12);²³¹ as also the relating of Isa. 53.12 with Moses' eschatological reward (*Siphre Deut.* §355 on 33.21), with the jealous action of Phinehas (*Siphre Num.* §131 on 25.13) and with R. Akiba²³² or the men of the great synagogue (J. Sheq. 5.1 [48 c 48])²³³—all these are without exception references to single verses in isolation which give no clue as to how the rabbis concerned interpreted the respective contexts as a whole.²³⁴ As regards the relating of Isa. 53.12 to Moses' act of

²²⁶In Migne, *PL* 24, 496. In *Lev. R.* 10.2 on 8.1, par. *Pesiqta* 125b (ed. S. Buber, 1868), R. Jehuda Bar Simon (*circa* 330) explains Isa. 50.6 with reference to Isaiah. When *Targ.* Isa. 50.10 translates Heb. עֲבָדָיו by 'his (God's) servants the prophets' (n. 220) here too a reference to Isaiah is implied. Isa. 50.4–10 was at no time interpreted messianically in Judaism, cf. Seidelin 206, n. 28, and especially Fischel, 63, 74 f.; above lines 14 f.

²²⁷*Siphre Deut.* §27 on 3.24.

²²⁸Correspondingly Isa. 49.1 is referred to Isaiah: *Midr. Ps.* 9 §59 on 9.6, 43a; *Pesiqta R.* 129a.

²²⁹In particular there is to be found in the reports about the martyrdom of Isaiah no allusion to the 'ebed, and this is pointed out by Fischel, 63.

²³⁰*Aggadat Bereschit* 7 (ed. A. Jellinek, *Bet-ha-Midrash* IV [1857] 12).

²³¹S.-B., II, 608.

²³²The author is R. Jona (*circa* 350).

²³³The last three texts in S.-B., I, 483 f.

²³⁴Schlatter, Moore, Kuhn, cf. n. 198. K. G. Kuhn rightly remarks in *Siphre Num.* (1933 ff.), §27, with reference to the relation of Isa. 53.12 to the jealous deed of Phinehas (*Siphre Num.* §131 on 25.13): 'thus this explanation does not suggest that the prophecy of Isa. 53.12 relates to Phinehas'. But Fischel, 63, n. 51 referring to *Ecclus.* 48.10 (cf. p. 57) and *Mark* 9.13 sees in the relation of Isa. 53.12 to Phinehas more than an incidental homiletic allusion; but the equation of Phinehas and Elijah, which Fischel assumes for *Siphre Num.* §131, belongs only to the post-N.T. period (*TWNT*, II, 935, 21 f.), and it is doubtful whether it is already present in *Siphre Num.* §131. Also K. G. Kuhn doubts it, as he has informed the author; otherwise S.-B., IV, 463.

intercession (B. *Sotah* 14a)²³⁵ it has its source in R. Simlai (*circa* 250) who plays a part in Palestine tradition chiefly on account of his controversy with the Christians.²³⁶ In applying Isa. 53.12 to Moses his object no doubt is to prevent Christian apologists from applying it to Jesus.²³⁷ That is all the more likely as the same tendency with regard to Isa. 53.12 was already presumably at work in Theodotion in the second century A.D. (cf. pp. 65f.).

(c) *Messianic exegesis* (Isa. 42.1; 43.10; 49.6; 52.13; 53.11.) Messianic interpretations of certain Deut. Isa. servant passages can most probably be traced back to pre-Christian times (cf. p. 41).

(α) In Ecclus 48.10 one of the three tasks of the returning Elijah (cf. *TWNT*, II, 933, 12 ff.) is described as להכין שבטי ישראל; the expression comes from Isa. 49.6 where the 'ebed receives the mission of להקים את-שבטי יעקב. The restoration of the twelve tribes is a messianic task and its assignment to Elijah must have marked the latter as the coming saviour.²³⁸ But since only a broad allusion to Isa. 49.6 is in question, conclusions about a messianic interpretation of Isa. 49.6 from Ecclus 48.10 alone are not quite secure²³⁹ (but cf. n. 305). In any case it is significant that Ecclus. explained the servant in Isa. 49.6 in an individual sense.

(β) In the *Testament of Benjamin* (second or first century B.C.) the patriarch at the beginning puts forward his brother Joseph as a model because he made intercession for his brothers with his father Jacob. In this connexion it is said in *Test. B.* 3.8 (Armenian): 'In thee (Joseph) will the heavenly prophecy be fulfilled which says that the innocent one will be defiled for the sake of the guilty and the sinless one will die for the impious.'²⁴⁰ The heavenly prophecy must mean Isa. 53.²⁴¹ The possibility that

²³⁵S.-B., I, 483.

²³⁶Bacher, *Die Agada der Palästinensischen Amoräer*, I, 1892, 555 f.

²³⁷Moore, III, 166, n. 254.

²³⁸Cf. *TWNT*, II, 933, 16 ff. and n. 17, also Dalman, I, 28; S.-B., IV, 780.

²³⁹Similarly, most recently, North, 7. More confident is the judgement of Dalman, I, 28.

²⁴⁰R. H. Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs translated*, 1908, 202. The text is found in all the manuscripts; but only the above-quoted Armenian translation is free from the Christian interpolations of the others.

²⁴¹In particular as regards the 'tarnishing' of the just for the unjust, cf. the translation of מְחַלֵּל Isa. 53.5 by βεβηλωμένος in Aquila and by אִיתְחַל in *Targ.* There was thus an old tradition which understood מְחַלֵּל not as 'pierced' but as 'desecrated'.

The Servant of God

Test. B. 3.8 (Armenian) is a Christian interpolation does not come into the question, for nowhere is there ascribed to Jesus descent from the tribe Joseph-Ephraim, but always Davidic descent (cf. υἱὸς Δαυὶδ) from the tribe of Judah (Heb. 7.14).²⁴² Since further the idea of a vicarious atoning death of the patriarch Joseph himself is nowhere else attested, the phrase 'in thee will the heavenly prophecy be fulfilled', probably refers not to Joseph himself but to his posterity (cf. for this type of phrase I Sam. 3.12-14), i.e., the Messiah from the house of Joseph.

In *Test. B.* 3.8 we have probably the oldest testimony to the expectation of a Messiah from the tribe of Joseph.²⁴³ This passage should therefore be regarded as the oldest witness to the messianic exegesis of Isa. 53 (next to LXX, cf. p. 41).

(γ) The next relevant source from the point of view of time is the so-called Visionary Discourses²⁴⁴ of the *Ethiopian Enoch* (chs. 37-71) which are certainly pre-Christian.²⁴⁵ Here the Messiah is depicted to a quite striking extent by means of traits drawn from

²⁴²Also the possibility of a Christian partial interpolation is not taken into account by the best specialist, R. H. Charles (op. cit. in n. 240, p. LXIV, cf. 202). The Armenian translation of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* which we use is distinguished by its relative freedom from Christian interpolation; 'this is especially so in the last two Testaments' (those of Joseph and Benjamin), *ibid.*, XXVII.

²⁴³Cf. G. H. Dix 'The Messiah ben Joseph', *JTS*, 27, 1926, 136. The later material for the expectation of the dying Messiah b. Joseph in Dalman, I, 1-26; S.-B., II, 292-9. The circumstance that the text Zech. 12.10 ff. (cf. p. 74) which in rabbinic literature was related to Messiah b. Joseph is already messianically interpreted in the N.T. (n. 318), makes it very likely that this expectation reaches back to pre-Christian times. For a pre-Christian origin of this tradition the advocates are: E. King, *The Yalkut on Zechariah*, 1882, Appendix A: 'Messiah ben Joseph', 85-108; F. Delitzsch, *Der Messias als Versöhner*, 1885, 20 f.; M. Friedmann, *Seder Eliahu rabba*, 1902, 'Introd.' p. 20 (Hebrew); G. H. Dix, loc. cit.; A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*,⁴ 1930, 377, 467; J. Héring, *Le royaume de Dieu et sa venue*, 1937, 67, n. 1; Torrey, 'The Messiah', 253-77. Torrey is moreover convinced that the origin of a martyr Messiah b. Joseph is only to be understood on the basis of Isa. 53 (256, 258 f., 261), likewise Weber, 362; *Test. B.* 3.8 supports this hypothesis.

²⁴⁴The translation 'Visionary Discourses' has established itself and is therefore retained, but it is not exact. Ethiopian meṣal (pl.), Hebrew מְשָׁל, Greek παραβολή refers to three apocalyptic visions—*Eth. En.* 37.5; 38.1; 45.1; 57.3; 58.1; 68.1; 69.29. Thus the word has here the meaning 'instructive speech with secret meaning'.

²⁴⁵The dating of the Discourses is dependent on the fact that they (56.5-7) make allusion to the Parthian invasion of Palestine of 40 B.C. They will have been composed shortly afterwards and a little later fitted into the scheme of *Enoch*. The untenability of the view that the discourses as a whole are Christian or have been provided in part with Christian interpolations has recently been demonstrated by Sjöberg, 3-24. The main argument is the total lack of anything specifically Christian.

Deut. Isa. Apart from the titles 'son of man' and 'Messiah'²⁴⁶ he bears constantly the name 'the chosen one'²⁴⁷ but only occasionally that of 'the righteous one'.²⁴⁸ 'The chosen one' is, however (Isa. 42.1), the title of the servant of God²⁴⁹ and the same applies to 'the righteous one' (Isa. 53.11).²⁵⁰ Thus we are led straight away to those two sections of Deut. Isa. which, also in the subsequent periods, are the ones interpreted messianically: Isa. 42.1 ff., 52.13 ff.²⁵¹

In *En.* 48.4 the son of man is called 'the light of the peoples'; this is an attribute of God's servant (Isa. 42.6; 49.6). It is said further that his name was named before creation 'in the presence of the Lord of spirits' (*En.* 48.3); this is an amplification of Isa. 49.1: 'my name he named when I was not yet born'. Then he was 'hidden before God' (*En.* 48.6, cf. 62.7) which is a reference to Isa. 49.2 ('He hid me in the shadow of his hand').²⁵² Again, in the description of the revelation of the son of man the Visionary Discourses constantly depict the humiliation of kings and the mighty before him with a reminiscence of Isa. 49.7; 52.15.²⁵³ It is said that they will see him in his glory (*En.* 55.4; 62.1, 3), rise before him (*En.* 46.4; 62.3), and cast themselves down (48.10 v.l.; 62.9; cf. 48.5), thus with an allusion to Isa. 49.7; 'Princes

²⁴⁶'The anointed': *En.* 48.10; 52.4.

²⁴⁷*En.* 39.6; 40.5; 45.3 (v.l.), 4; 49.2; 51.3, 5; 52.6, 9; 53.6; 55.4; 61.5, 8, 10; 62.1; cf. 46.3; 48.6; 49.4.

²⁴⁸*En.* 38.2 (v.l. 'righteousness', cf. Sjöberg, 96, n. 48); 47.1, 4; 53.6 ('the righteous and chosen one'). Cf. further 39.6: 'the elect of righteousness and faith'; 46.3: 'the son of man who has righteousness and with whom righteousness dwells'; 71.14.

²⁴⁹The allusion to Isa. 42.1 is generally recognized, and rightly. Cf. especially *En.* 49.4: 'He has been chosen by the Lord of spirits as the latter has willed' (for translation see Sjöberg, 122, n. 33) with Isa. 42.1: 'my chosen in whom my soul delighteth'. Ps. 89.3, 19 where David is called 'my chosen' (v. 3) and 'a chosen one' (v. 19) does not apply as an O.T. prototype, since late Judaism always related both verses to the historical David, never to the Messiah.

²⁵⁰The Messiah is called 'righteous' also in Zech. 9.9 (cf. 'righteous branch' Jer. 23.5; 33.15). In view of the many allusions to Deut. Isa., as far as *Eth. En.* is concerned only one is in question as a prototype, viz. Isa. 53.11. Cf. S.-B., I, 481.

²⁵¹S.-B., I, 481: 'The messianic exegesis (of Isa. 53) is first (but see pp. 41, 57) seen in the Visionary Discourses of Enoch'; also cf. Wolff, 38 f.; Fischel, 61; lastly H. Kosmala, 'Jom Kippur', *Judaica*, 6, 1950, 16.

²⁵²Cf. with Isa. 49.2: 'in the shadow of his hand', *En.* 39.7: 'I saw his dwelling under the pinions of the Lord of Spirits'. The idea of the hiddenness of the Messiah plays a great part in subsequent periods even in the N.T. (cf. for example, Matt. 24.26; John 7.27; Rev. 12.5; further, Justin, *Dial.* 8, 110; Dalman, I, 34; and n. 457). The rich material still requires investigation.

²⁵³Cf. Billerbeck, 108; Fischel, 61.

and kings will see it and arise and cast themselves down'. It is said further that their countenance will be fallen (*En.* 46.6; 48.8) alluding to Isa. 52.15: 'Kings will shut their mouths before him'. In particular in *En.* 62.1 ff. the conduct of kings, the mighty and those who possess the earth, is depicted in close connexion with Isa. 52.13 ff.; thus *En.* 62.5 f.: 'They will be afraid (cf. Isa. 52.14), they will lower their eyes (cf. Isa. 52.15), and pain will seize them when they see the Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory; kings (cf. Isa. 52.15), the mighty and all who possess the earth will glorify, praise and exalt him who rules over all (cf. Isa. 52.13), who was hidden (cf. Isa. 52.15)'.²⁵⁴ Again it is the passages Isa. 42.1 ff.; 52.13 ff. (cf. p. 59) which are messianically interpreted; together with 49.1-2, 6-7. Finally there are the following statements which have a loose connexion with Deut. Isa. The chosen has the spirit of righteousness (*En.* 62.1 f; cf. [besides Isa. 11.2, 4] 42.1: 'My chosen . . . I have laid my spirit upon him'). He executes judgement (*En.* 41.9; 45.3; 49.4; 55.4; 61.9; 62.2 f.; 69.27; cf. Isa. 42.4 'A, Θ, *Targ.*). *En.* 48.4b: 'He will be the light of the peoples and the hope of the sad' combines Isa. 42.6 ('light of the peoples') with its context (42.7: salvation of the blind and wretched). The son of man of the Visionary Discourses is thus to a large extent²⁵⁵ depicted with traits which are borrowed from servant passages of Deut. Isa. (42.1-7; 49.1 f., 6 f.; 52.13-15; 53.11).

This combination of son of man and servant of God, here brought about for the first time, was of decisive importance for Jesus' understanding of his mission.²⁵⁶

(8) The next source which gives us information about the exegesis of 'ebed texts in late Judaism is the *Peshitta*; it is probably of pre-Christian origin.²⁵⁷ *Peshitta* explains Isa. 53—includ-

²⁵⁴It is important to note for the comparison that Isa. 52.13 ff. in *Wisd.* 4.20 ff. (cf. p. 53) is also understood as a final judgement scene (which Sjöberg, 125, has overlooked).

²⁵⁵Billerbeck, 107: 'almost exclusively'. Cf. Staerk, *Soter*, 72-77, 82 f.

²⁵⁶Buber, 77. An echo of this combination of son of man and servant in *Ethiopian Enoch* is to be seen in the fact that in the *Heb. En.* the Metatron, who bears many attributes of the son of man (Odeberg, 146), is called עֶבֶד (of God) or נֶעֱר; see n.

194. Cf. J. Bowman, 'The Background of the Term "Son of Man"', *ET*, 59, 1948, 288.

²⁵⁷P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, 1947, 184, 186; also Hegermann, 22-27.

ing the passages about suffering—in a messianic sense.²⁵⁸ This is clear from the passages where *Peshitta* discloses its understanding of Isa. 53 by deviations from the Heb. text. Thus *Peshitta* saw in the servant a figure awaited in the future (52.14) who shall 'cleansed' many peoples (52.15); this figure is denied (53.2), despised (53.3) and slain (53.5) but exalted by God and (at the last judgement) will convey forgiveness (53.5: healing). These statements can only refer to the Messiah.²⁵⁹

(ε) In one place the N.T. too gives us a piece of evidence for the messianic exegesis of a servant passage in late Judaism. According to Luke 23.35 the ἄρχοντες mock the Crucified with the words: ἄλλους ἔσωσεν, σωσάτω ἑαυτόν, εἰ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἐκλεκτός. For our purpose the point is that it is the Jewish ἄρχοντες who here describe the Messiah with the title ὁ ἐκλεκτός. Christian influence on this formulation is not probable, for as a christological formula ὁ ἐκλεκτός appears elsewhere in the N.T. only²⁶⁰ in John 1.34.²⁶¹ But we are already acquainted with this title from the *Eth. En.* where, as we have seen, it appears as a pre-Christian Jewish messianic predicate derived from Isa. 42.1 (cf. p. 59).²⁶² Thus in Luke 23.35 we have an echo of the messianic

²⁵⁸Hegermann, 127.

²⁵⁹Hegermann, *ibid.*

²⁶⁰In Luke 9.35 we find the divergent form ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος as the (probably original) reading. In the Apostolic Fathers and the apologists ὁ ἐκλεκτός is never used for 'Christ'.

²⁶¹The fact that the reading ὁ ἐκλεκτός in John 1.34 offered by the oldest MSS., in spite of the small number of attestations (P⁵ 77, 218 sy^{3c} a b c ff²), represents the correct text, has been convincingly demonstrated by A. v. Harnack, 'Zur Textkritik und Christologie der Schriften des Johannes', *JAB*, 1915, 552-6 = 'Studien I, (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 19, 1931, 127-32). For in all three linguistic zones of the early church, Greek, Syrian, and Latin, textual history begins unanimously with this reading. In the fourth century, in the struggle against adoptionist christology, it was replaced by ὁ υἱός.

²⁶²Otherwise as such it occurs plainly only in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 31.1. Perhaps there belongs here also the expression בְּחִירָא (of God) which is found in the *Habakkuk Commentary* in the recently discovered Palestinian texts (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, I, op. cit. in n. 69; see plate 57, col. 5, line 4; plate 59, col. 9, line 12), since there, just as in *Eth. En.* the plural form בְּחִירֵי אֱלֹהִים (10.13) also occurs along with it; yet a secure conclusion is not possible, for בְּחִירָא can be both singular and a defectively written plural. On the other hand *Test. B.* 11.4: καὶ ἔσται ἐκλεκτός θεοῦ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος (cf. *TWNT*, IV, 190, 2 f.) certainly belongs to a Christian interpolation, as the state of the text itself shows (11.2b-5), and is related not to Christ but to the Benjamite Paul (Charles, op. cit. in n. 240, 215 f., note on ch. XI).

The Servant of God

exegesis of Isa. 42.1 in late Judaism. Further let it be noted here, in confirmation of what we have been saying, that also in the N.T. the messianic interpretation of Deut. Isa. servant texts is limited to Isa. 42.1-4, 6; 49.6; 52.13-53.12 (cf. p. 93).

(ζ) At the beginning of the second century A.D.²⁶³ Aquila completed in Palestine a new translation of the O.T. into Greek, designed to replace the LXX, as the latter offered Christians too much scope for the production of christological proof-texts.²⁶⁴ Aquila's interpretation of the servant in Isa. 53 is to be inferred, *inter alia*, from his agreement with *Test. B.* 3.8 in the understanding of Isa. 53.5,²⁶⁵ and from his exegesis of 53.9 as referring to the judgement which the servant holds; messianism is implicit at both points.²⁶⁶ Further, Aquila translates (according to Jerome) עֲבָדִי (Isa. 53.4) by ἀφημένον²⁶⁷

²⁶³The dating of the translation of the O.T. by Aquila is determined by the fact that he was, on the one hand, a pupil of R. Akiba (Jerome on Isa. 8.11 ff. [Migne, PL 24, 119 A]: 'Akibas quem magistrum Aquilae proselyti autumant'; J. Qid. I, 1 [59 a 9]), on the other hand of R. Eli'ezer ben Hyrcanos and of R. Jehoshua' ben Hananiah (J. Meg. I, 11 [71c 9]); the activity of the two last named reached its zenith c. A.D. 90. But R. Jehoshua' had served in the Temple as a Levite (B.Ar. 11b; Siphre Num. §116 on 18.3; T. Sheq. 2.14) and thus before the destruction of the Temple must have reached the canonical Levitic age of 20, and consequently must have been born before A.D. 50. R. Eli'ezer b. Hyrcanos was still older than R. Jehoshua', for he did not begin his studies until the age of 22 or 28 (Pesiqta R. Eli'ezer. 1; Gen. R. 42.3 on 14.1; Ab. R. Nat. 6) and he pursued them many years under Rabban Jochanan b. Zakkai before A.D. 70. Thus he must have been born, say between A.D. 30 and A.D. 40 (J. Klausner, *Jesus von Nazareth*, 1930, 46; cf. R. T. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, 1903, 142, n. 1; and according to Klausner, op. cit., 65, he was already at an advanced age c. A.D. 80). As far as the date of Eli'ezer's death is concerned, we know that he died before R. Akiba, hence before A.D. 135 (B. Sanh. 68a); for some time up to his death he was in banishment and was avoided by colleagues and pupils. Since Aquila read his translation both to him and to R. Jehoshua' (J. Meg. I, 11 [71c 9]) the latter could hardly have been produced after A.D. 110, and more likely earlier.

²⁶⁴*Septuaginta* (ed. A. Rahlfs, 1935) I, p. vii f.

²⁶⁵Cf. n. 241.

²⁶⁶Cf. Hegermann 40, 42, 122 ff. for further observations, notably with regard to the agreement between Aquila and the *Targ.*

²⁶⁷Jerome (on Isa. 53.4 [Migne, PL 24, 507 A]) 'Pro eo quod Symmachus transtulit ἐν ἀφῇ ὄντα, hoc est in lepra, Aquila posuit ἀφημένον, id est leprosum; quod multi non intelligentes putant relictum (ἀφεμένον), et alii legunt καθήμενον, id est sedentem'. According to Eusebius (cf. Ziegler, 'Isaias' ad loc.) Aquila translated עֲבָדִי by τετραυματισμένον.

But without question Jerome gives here the correct text (ἀφημένον); for the context of the reading, as conveyed by Eusebius, excludes its derivation from Aquila (cf. J. Ziegler, *Textkritische Notizen zu den jüngeren griechischen Übersetzungen des Buches Isaias* = NGG, Fachgruppe V, N.F. I, 4, 1939, 97 f.). Further Aquila consistently

The Servant of God in Late Judaism

(leprous, cf. *Vulgate*: *quasi leprosum*), a translation which is explained by the fact that the past participle of נגע in post-biblical Hebrew (Pu'al) and Aramaic (Pa'el) has the meaning 'leprous'. For our question this translation is very illuminating because the exegesis 'leper' for Isa. 53.4 is met with also in rabbinic literature and is here referred to the Messiah.²⁶⁸

We are thinking of two places in *B. Sanh.* 98 which alone in the *Talmud*, along with a late *Midrash* text,²⁶⁹ have preserved the curious conception of a leprous Messiah.²⁷⁰ One text is *B. Sanh.* 98b, from *circa* A.D. 200.²⁷¹ In an enumeration of messianic titles it is here said 'And the teachers said "the leprous one", those of the House of Rabbi²⁷² said "the sick man" is his name, for it is written: "Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows, but we thought him stricken with leprosy (נִגְעָא), smitten and tormented by God" (Isa. 53.4)'.²⁷³ The other text is *B. Sanh.* 98a (alleged experience of R. Jehoshua' ben Levi, *circa* A.D. 250), where it is described how the Messiah sits outside the gates of Rome among the wretched people

renders the Heb. root נגע by the Greek word group ἀφῆ/ἄπτεσθαι; and ἀφᾶσθαι is not attested in the whole of Greek literature and is clearly a newly coined passive form by Aquila. Such new formations, which suggest a brilliant mastery of Greek, and are made in the interest of the most literal translation of the Heb. text (cf. p. 52), are one of the typical signs of Aquila's translation (cf. the long list of Aquila's Hapax legomena in J. Reider, *Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek Index to Aquila*, 1916, 101-15).

²⁶⁸The supposition of Euler, 31 f., that Aquila is thinking of a leprous priest is wrong. Euler's remarks on Aquila suffer throughout from the fact that he has not recognized the translation technique of Aquila (see p. 52 and Hegermann, 15 f., 28-45).

²⁶⁹*Sepher Zerubbabel* (ed. A. Jellinek, *Bet-ha-Midr.*, II [1853/4], 54, 19 ff., cf. S.-B. II, 291). The comparison with *B. Sanh.* 98a shows that the 'wounds' from which men hide their faces are those of the leper.

²⁷⁰The essay of H. Gressmann, 'Der Aussätzige Messias' (*Die Christliche Welt*, 34, 1920, 663-68), contains nothing helpful to our investigation.

²⁷¹This date results from the introductory formula רבנן אמרי, cf. Dalman, I, 37; same date in S.-B., II, 286.

²⁷²Rabbi is R. Jehuda, I (135-c. 217).

²⁷³Thus the text which Raymundus Martini read (after A.D. 1278, *Pugio fidei*, ed. D. J. de Voisin, 1651, 672), cf. Dalman, I, 36, n. 2; rightly (cf. n. 309) followed by E. B. Pusey in Driver-Neubauer, II, p. XXXIV, and by North, 14. The present text of *B. Sanh.* 98b reads: 'And the teachers said: "the leper of the House of Rabbi" is he called, for it is written "Verily he . . ."' (Isa. 53.4). Thus the text is interpreted messianically, but it is an obvious corruption; as a result of the omission of the word חֲלִיָּה (the sick man) arose the senseless messianic name: 'the leper of the House of Rabbi'.

The Servant of God

who 'bear pain' (cf. Isa. 53.4),²⁷⁴ and alone among them unbinds and binds just one wound at a time, so that without delay he may fulfil the summons to save Israel.

Aquila's translation of Isa. 53 permits us to trace back this reference of Isa. 53.4 to the leprous Messiah as far as A.D. 100.²⁷⁵ But we must go back yet a step further; the messianic interpretation of Isa. 53.4 cannot have arisen first *circa* A.D. 100, for quite apart from the messianic exegesis of Isa. 53 in *Test. B.* (cf. p. 57) and *Peshitta* (cf. p. 60), it is completely out of the question that the Jews should have begun to interpret messianically the passion texts of Isa. 53 only at a time when Christians were already using Isa. 53 as the decisive christological proof text.²⁷⁶

(7) The translation of Aquila was followed by that of Theodotion²⁷⁷ in the second century A.D.²⁷⁸ Theodotion too interpreted Isa. 53 in a messianic sense. This stands out most plainly from his translation of the concluding sentence of the chapter. Isa. 53 (M.T.) concludes with the words וְלִפְשָׁעִים יִפְגֹּעַ or וְלִפְשָׁעֵיהֶם יִפְגֹּעַ²⁷⁹ (53.12). The verb הִפְגִּיעַ/פָּגַע means 'to have to do with a person', either *in bonam partem*—'to intercede'—or *in malam partem*—'to attack someone'. The Heb. text certainly had intended the first meaning, to judge by the context: 'and he

²⁷⁴Rashi explains these words as follows: 'who are smitten with leprosy, and he too is leprous, see Isa. 53.3, 4' (text, see Wünsche, 58, n. 2). Pointing to leprosy (so too Dalman, I, 39) are also the number of the wounds which must be bound up; but especially the sitting before the gates (see J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu*, II, A, 1924, 33, n. 1); the rule about walled towns being closed to lepers (S.-B., IV, 751-7) is transferred to Rome.

²⁷⁵That the leper exegesis of Isa. 53.4 attests the messianic understanding of the servant as early as the tannaitic period has been shown by H. J. Schoeps, 'Symmachusstudien III', *Biblica* 29, 1948, 38 f. = *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit*, 1950, 108 f.

²⁷⁶Franz Delitzsch, *Der Messias als Versöhner*, 1885, 21; Schlatter, 50; Aytoun, 176; North, 11; cf. Riesenfeld, 84; Torrey, *JBL*, 66, 1947, 257.

²⁷⁷Until 1939 research had at its disposal only the collection of hexaplarist material by F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, 1875. For Isaiah there has now appeared, in place of this work, the excellent hexaplarist apparatus which Ziegler, 'Isaia's', offers. Ziegler was able on the basis of the MSS. to improve at many points the collection of Field, outstanding in its day, and, above all, to make use of the hexaplarist notices which are to be found (1) in the Isaiah commentary of Theodoret of Cyrus (ed. A. Möhle, 1933), (2) in an Isaiah commentary, supposedly of Chrysostom, which has come down to us in Armenian (pub. Venice, 1880) and (3) in the not yet edited Isaiah Commentary of Eusebius (preserved in the margin of the Florentine Codex, *Laurentianus Pluteus*, XI 4).

²⁷⁸According to Epiph. (*De mensuris et ponderibus* 17) under Commodus (180-92).

²⁷⁹Thus the newly discovered Isaiah roll (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, I, op. cit. in n. 69).

made intercession for the transgressors'. The following understand it correctly: the N.T. (Rom. 8.34; Heb. 7.25; I John 2.1 f.), Justin,²⁸⁰ the *Vulgate*,²⁸¹ *Targum*,²⁸² *B. Talmud*,²⁸³ also the very free rendering of the LXX (καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη) alluding to martyrdom has understood פְּדִיָּה in *bonam partem*. For the first time *Peshitta* understands the verb in *malam partem*,²⁸⁴ as also does Aquila who translated, according to Pseud. Chrys. (n. 278): 'occurrent irridentibus eum', and Symmachus: καὶ τοῖς ἀθετοῦσιν (*contradicientibus* Pseud. Chrys.) ἀντέστη (*Cod.* 86) 'and he opposed those who rejected him'. In Theodotion this interpretation in *malam partem* continues; he translates 'et impios torquet' (Pseud. Chrys.). Thus with him the chapter concludes with the quite monstrous image of the servant torturing the godless. If we refuse to accept a crude error on the part of the Pseud. Chrys. text, which has unfortunately only been preserved in Armenian, we shall have to take as our point of departure the fact that LXX, 'A, and *Targ.* agree to regard Isa. 53.9 as a description of the last judgement,²⁸⁵ and so by 'torture' Theodotion is thinking of eternal damnation.²⁸⁶ The fact that he saw in the servant the ultimate judge shows that he interpreted Isa. 53 messianically.²⁸⁷

Since, unlike Aquila and Symmachus, Theodotion did not prepare a new translation, but took the LXX, also in use among the Christians, as his basis and ever and again improved it by reference to the original, it is to be expected that in some of his corrections he was influenced by the intention of excluding christological interpretations which the LXX made possible. The text already discussed (Isa. 53.12 e) arouses this suspicion. That Theodotion replaced the LXX text καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη is not surprising, since here the LXX had

²⁸⁰Justin, *Apol.* 50.2: καὶ τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐξιλάσεται ('he will make atonement', *TWNT*, III, 315, 38).

²⁸¹*Et pro transgressoribus rogavit.*

²⁸²'And for his sake the rebellious will be forgiven'.

²⁸³*B. Sotah* 14a "He interceded for the transgressors" (Isa. 53.12): for he implored mercy for the transgressors of Israel that they might return in penitence; by this "intercession" is meant nothing other than prayer.

²⁸⁴Cf. Hegermann, 107 f. on Isa. 53.12 *Peshitta*.

²⁸⁵Cf. Hegermann, 42, 86 f., 123 on Isa. 53.9 *Targ.*

²⁸⁶Hegermann 52 compares Isa. 66.24, Matt. 25.41, 46.

²⁸⁷Further observations in Hegermann, 113 f. Symmachus also gives the messianic interpretation.

translated very freely. But that Theodotion substituted for the statement of the LXX about the vicarious martyrdom of the servant a phrase which in its offensive harshness was not warranted by the Heb. text ('and he will torment the impious') might well be due to dislike of the Christian use of the LXX (cf. Rom. 4.25). Among the few fragments of the Theodotion translation of Isa. 53 his rendering of Isa. 53.12d: וְהָיָה נִמְנָה פְּשָׁעִים נִמְנָה 'and he was reckoned with the transgressors', is also very unusual. The LXX here translates *καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη*, but Theodotion: *καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀπέσχετο* (Cod. 86), 'and he kept aloof from the impious'. The striking feature here is that Theodotion has replaced a completely correct translation of the LXX by one which says exactly the opposite: the servant who is reckoned with the wicked (Heb., LXX, 'A, Σ) has become in Theodotion the servant who holds himself aloof from the wicked.²⁸⁸ In this change again anti-Christian prejudice may have played a part. The text Isa. 53.12d was especially important for Christians (cf. Luke 22.37) because it did not refer in merely general terms to the suffering of the servant, but asserted that vicariously (53.12e) he was numbered with the criminals. More plainly than elsewhere in Isa. 53 they could find here a prophecy of the scandal of the cross. By reversing the meaning of the text Theodotion perhaps wished to make impossible the Christian interpretation.

(θ) The Aramaic translation of Isaiah must be considered here from a chronological point of view, although the *Targ.* on Isaiah²⁸⁹ in its present form is not older than the fifth century A.D., for the text was fixed much earlier. The history of the oral tradition of translation, the result of which the *Targ.* represents,

²⁸⁸Hegermann, 51. R. Brinker-London put forward to the author the illuminating suggestion that Theodotion, instead of וְהָיָה נִמְנָה ('he was counted') read וְהָיָה נִמְנָה ('he held himself aloof').

²⁸⁹Editions: P. de Lagarde, *Prophetæ Chaldaice*, 1872, from the *Codex Reuchlini*; with apparatus: Stenning, 1949. The section Isa. 52.13–53.12 has been published by G. Dalman in *Aramäische Dialektproben*², 1927, 10 f. The very meritorious work of Seidelin comes to debatable results because the distinction between the Jewish-Hellenistic and the Jewish-Palestinian exegesis of Isa. 42 and 53 is not recognized and in the evaluation of rabbinic material no distinction is made between allusions to and interpretations of Isa. 53. Besides that, the age of the rabbinic interpretations of Isa. 53.4 has not been realized, and the meaning of the anti-Christian polemic undervalued.

The Servant of God in Late Judaism

goes back to pre-Christian times.²⁹⁰ In particular it can be shown that the messianic exegesis of the servant texts Isa. 42.1 and Isa. 52.13 in the *Targ.* Isa. is old. Of the nineteen servant passages in the Heb. text (cf. p. 50) only three are messianically interpreted in the *Targ.* Isa.: 42.1; 43.10; 52.13;²⁹¹ in all three texts the Heb. עֶבְדִּי is rendered מְשִׁיחָא by the *Targ.*²⁹² Our conclusions so far make it certain that the messianic interpretation of Isa. 42.1 and 52.13 rests upon ancient tradition (cf. pp. 57 ff.).²⁹³ The observation that the description of the Messiah

²⁹⁰A specially clear example of the great age of the tradition of translation reached in the *Targ.* is furnished by Isa. 6.10. The Heb. text runs: לוֹ וְרָפָא and the LXX: αὐτοῖς ἰασομαι αὐτούς, Σ: καὶ ἰαθῇ. Quite otherwise is the translation of *Targ.*: וְיִשְׁתַּבֵּיךְ לְהוֹן 'and they shall be forgiven'. רָפָא (to heal) is mistaken for רָפָה (to remit); see Schlatter, *Mark*, on 4.12. This understanding of the text is very ancient; for it is already to be found in syrpal: וּנְשַׁתְּבֵךְ לָהּ and Mark 4.12: καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς (cf. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, 1948, 77 and *TWNT*, V, 555, n. 116). With regard to Isa. 53 in particular, in many instances the age of the synagogue tradition of translation crystallized in the *Targ.* can be shown by means of the LXX, the *Peshitta*, 'A, Σ, and Θ. A few examples may be mentioned: (i) Isa. 52.13: for the age of the expression עֶבְדִּי מְשִׁיחָא cf. p. 50. (ii) Isa. 53.3b is interpreted in the *Targ.* (otherwise in the Heb. text and the LXX) with reference to the turning away of the shekina, as also in 'A. (iii) Isa. 53.4: for תְּלִינוּ 'our infirmities' the *Targ.* says חוֹבְנָא; likewise the LXX ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν. (iv) Isa. 53.5: מְחַלֵּל is on the part of the LXX derived from חָלַל Po'al 'to pierce': ἐτραυματίσθη; the *Targ.* on the contrary derives it from חָלַל Pu'al 'to be dishonoured': אִיתְהַל 'he was profaned' as also already in *Test. B.* 3.8 (see n. 241) and 'A: βεβηλωμένος. (v) Isa. 53.7: נֹגַשׁ is derived by the LXX and *Itala* from נִגַּשׁ 'he was abused', but the *Targ.* derives it from נִגַּשׁ 'he approached', as already in Σ and the *Vulgate*. (vi) Isa. 53.9: application to the judgement found in the *Targ.* is already in the LXX, 'A, and Θ (cf. p. 65). (vii) Isa. 53.10: the LXX translates דִּכְּאוֹ by καθάρσαι, as does the *Targ.*: מְצַרֵּךְ (see Hegermann, 122-5).

²⁹¹Of the remaining sixteen texts the *Targ.* refers (i) to Israel 41.8, 9; 44.1, 2, 21 (twice); 45.4; 48.20; 49.3; and probably also 49.5, 6 (see n. 214); (ii) to penitent sinners (see n. 219) 42.19 (twice); (iii) to the prophets (see n. 220) 50.10; (iv) 44.26 the Heb. text was perhaps read by the *Targ.* as a plural (see n. 221); (v) 53.11 (Heb. text עֶבְדִּי) in the *Targ.* is an infinitive: 'in order to make servants of the law'.

²⁹²Textual uncertainty exists only with regard to *Targ.* Isa. 42.1. עֶבְדִּי מְשִׁיחָא is read in the *Codex Reuchlini* (see n. 289), the *Codex Nüremberg* (see Stenning, XXIX) and the Wilna edition, 1893. But the *Codex Orientalis*, 2211 (British Museum) and others have simply עֶבְדִּי. Yet the reading עֶבְדִּי מְשִׁיחָא is supported by the fact that the whole Palestinian tradition—as distinct from the Hellenistic (see pp. 52 ff.)—from before the Christian era onwards, interprets Isa. 42.1 ff. messianically (see p. 75).

²⁹³The messianic interpretation of Isa. 43.10, which perhaps is occasioned by Heb. עֶבְדִּי, in the mouth of God, as in 42.1; 52.13 (Seidelin, 228), has on the contrary

as servant of God is to be found only in the pre-rabbinic layer of late Jewish literature (II Esd. [IV Ezra], *Syr. Bar.*, cf. p. 49) but nowhere in rabbinic literature outside the *Targ.* (cf. p. 50), points to the same conclusion. Above all, the ancient date of the messianic exegesis of Isa. 52.13 in the *Targ.* is clear from the fact that *Targ.* Isa. explains the whole context Isa. 52.13–53.12 uniformly in a messianic sense; for the messianic interpretation of 53.1–12 cannot, as we saw (p. 64), have first arisen in the Christian era.

The *Targ.* Isa. 52.13–53.12 runs: (52.13) 'Behold my servant, the Messiah, will have success, will become exalted, great and strong.' (14) 'As the house of Israel have hoped in him many days when their appearance was overcast in the midst of the peoples and their brightness less than that of the sons of men;' (15) 'so will he scatter many peoples; for his sake kings will be silent, will lay their hand on their mouth; for they see what they had never been told and perceive what they had never heard of.' (53.1) 'Who hath believed this our message? and to whom hath the strength of the mighty arm of the Lord thus²⁹⁴ been revealed?' (2) 'And the righteous²⁹⁵ shall be great before him, yea, as sprouting branches and as a tree which sends out its roots beside water brooks, so will the holy generations increase in the land which was in need of him. His appearance is not like that of worldly things and the fear which he inspires is not an ordinary fear, but his brightness will be holy so that all who see him will gaze (fascinated) upon him.' (3) 'Then (he) will be despised and will (make to) cease the glory of all

no parallel in other late Jewish literature; *Midr. Ps.* 51 §3 on 51.6 refers Isa. 43.10 to David. But Jerome says on Isa. 43.1–10 that the Jews had interpreted the section *de secundo Salvatoris adventu, quando post plenitudinem gentium omnis salvandus sit Israel* (cf. Seidelin, 222, n. 79).

²⁹⁴ כדן; ed. Venice 1517: כדן (now), probably scribal error.

²⁹⁵ צדיקא (plural); on the other hand *Codex Reuchlini* (n. 289, *Biblia Hebraica Rabbinica*, ed. J. Buxtorf the elder, 1618–19) and the Arab. ed. of the *Targ. Jonathan* I (1196 A.D.; see Dalman, I, 48, n. 1) read the singular: צדיקא. The singular is supported by the striking singular of the immediately preceding verb: יתברך. It could refer to the Messiah (cf. the messianic explanation of our text by R. Berechiah (*circa* 340) which seems to have been removed from talmudic literature, n. 313). Probably, however, a collective singular was intended, so that between the better attested plural and the singular reading there is no difference of meaning.

The Servant of God in Late Judaism

kingdoms.²⁹⁶ They will become weak and pitiable—behold, like a man of sorrows and as one destined to ills and as if the *shekina* had turned its face from us—despised and disregarded'. (4) 'Then he will make intercession for our transgressions and for his sake our iniquities shall be forgiven, though we were accounted bruised, smitten by Yahweh and afflicted.' (5) 'But he will build up the sanctuary which was desecrated because of our transgressions and surrendered because of our iniquities, and by his teaching his peace²⁹⁷ will be richly upon us, and when we gather to listen to him our transgressions will be forgiven us.' (6) 'We were all scattered as sheep, each one had gone his own way into exile; but it was Yahweh's will to forgive the transgressions of us all for his sake.' (7) 'When he prays he receives an answer and hardly does he open his mouth, but he finds a hearing. He will deliver the strong from among the peoples to be slaughtered as a lamb, and as a ewe that is dumb before its shearers, and no one will (dare) to open his mouth and plead.' (8) 'He will bring our exiles home from their suffering and chastisement. Who can tell the wonders which will come upon us in his days? For he will remove the dominion²⁹⁸ of the peoples from the land of Israel; he will lay

²⁹⁶The textual question to be discussed here is of great importance. There are two alternative readings, which though hardly distinguishable in writing are, in fact, very different. (1) *Codex Orientalis* 2211 (British Museum) and the bulk of the MSS., as also the Wilna edition (1893) read: *יפסיק* Aph'el: 'he will make to cease'. (2) But *Codex Orientalis* 1474 (British Museum) reads: *יפסוק* Qal: 'it will cease'. *Codex Reuchlini* *יפסק* is ambiguous on account of the missing *mater lectionis*. The two versions presuppose a different subject; in the first (reading: *יפסיק*) the Messiah is the subject and the translation is: 'Then he (the Messiah) will be despised and will make to cease the glory of all kingdoms' (for this reading see Wünsche, 41; Humbert, 445, 38, n. 1; S-B., I, 482; II, 284; Kittel, 179; Brierre-Narbonne, 99; North, 12). In the second case (reading: *יפסוק*) 'the honour of all kingdoms' is the subject, and the translation is: 'As a result the honour of all kingdoms will end and will turn to shame' (for this reading see Dalman, op. cit. in n. 289, 10, n. 18; Seidelin, 207, 211 f.). Without question the textual evidence points predominantly to the first reading (*יפסיק*): the weakly attested second reading (*יפסוק*) stands moreover under the suspicion of wishing to set aside the suffering of the Messiah. Thus in *Targ. Isa.* 53.3 we have, in all probability, the statement: 'then will he be despised', a trace of the idea of messianic suffering.

²⁹⁷*שלמים*; *Codex Reuchlini* (see n. 289), *Codex Nuremberg* (cf. n. 292) and the Venice edition (1517) read *שלמה* without suffix.

²⁹⁸*שולמן* can also mean 'ruler'.

The Servant of God

to their charge²⁹⁹ the sins of which my people were guilty.' (9) 'And he will deliver over to hell the godless and those who have enriched themselves by robbery unto the death of (eternal) destruction, so that they who commit sin may not be preserved and may no longer speak cunningly with their mouth.' (10) 'And it pleases Yahweh to refine and purify the remnant of his people in order to cleanse their soul from transgressions. They shall see the kingdom of their Messiah; they will have many sons and daughters;³⁰⁰ they will live long, and those who fulfil the law of Yahweh will by his good pleasure have success.' (11) 'From subjugation by the peoples he will deliver their soul; they will see the punishment of them that hate them; they will be satiated by the plunder of their kings. By his wisdom he will acquit the innocent to make many servants of the law. And he will make intercession for their transgressions.' (12) 'Hereafter will I apportion to him the plunder of many peoples and he will distribute strong towns as booty, because he surrendered³⁰¹ himself to death and brought the rebels under the yoke of the law. And he will make intercession for many transgressions and for his sake the rebellious will be forgiven.'

It can be seen how, step by step, in *Targ. Isa.* 52.13-53.12 is depicted the glorious establishment of the messianic kingdom over Israel. The statements about the passion of the servant have been so radically and consistently removed by artificial contrivances that faint traces remain only in two places.³⁰² Even allow-

²⁹⁹ ימטי is to be read with Dalman (see n. 289) 11, n. 6 as Aph'el = ימטי (Codex Orientalis 2211 [British Museum]: ימטי).

³⁰⁰ יסגון is with Dalman (see n. 289) 11, n. 9 to be read as Aph'el = יסגון (Codex Orientalis 2211 [British Museum]: יסגון).

³⁰¹ As Dalman has shown, I, 48, n. 3, it is not necessarily implied that this statement relates to accomplished execution; involvement in the peril of death might also be meant (thus also S.-B., I, 482 f.; Seidelin, 215, n. 62). The text does not state on what occasion the 'surrender to death' ensued. The allusion might be to the war which precedes the messianic time (thus Weber, 361; Seidelin, 215), or rather, according to the original text, to death (or danger of death) from ill-treatment. (Cf. Isa. 53.7 f.).

³⁰² Two texts are in question: (i) *Targ. Isa.* 53.3: 'he will become despised', יה' לבסרן, see n. 296; (ii) *Targ. Isa.* 53.12: 'he delivered his soul over to death', מסר למותא, נפשיה, see n. 301; and Humbert, 5; Bonsirven, 383; Fischel, 70.

The Servant of God in Late Judaism

ing for the targumic translation technique, the section *Targ. Isa.* 52.13–53.12 stands out by the unusual freedom of its paraphrase in the context of *Targ. Isa.* 40–66,³⁰³ which elsewhere keeps more closely to the Heb. text. For this violent reinterpretation of the text there is only one possible explanation: we have here a piece of anti-Christian polemic.³⁰⁴ From the second century at the latest, Judaism was concerned in various ways to wrest Isa. 53 from its use by Christians as a christological scriptural text proof (cf. p. 75). The curious form of Isa. 53 in the *Targ.* shows to what extremes this attempt was carried through. The whole section was indeed messianically explained because the messianic interpretation of Isa. 52.13–53.12 was so firmly rooted that *Targ. Isa.* could not escape it, but the passages about suffering, in brusque contradiction to the original, are replaced by the current view of the Messiah. The fact that this thoroughgoing process of reinterpretation of Isa. 52.13–53.12 was applied to both the Greek (see pp. 65 ff.) and the Aramaic texts of Isa. 53 shows how firmly rooted in Palestinian Judaism was the messianic exegesis.

(1) On the part of the Rabbis, likewise, only two Deut. Isa. servant passages have been understood in a messianic sense: Isa. 42.1 ff. and Isa. 52.13 ff.³⁰⁵ These are in fact the two passages which, so far, we have constantly found to be interpreted messianically. As for Isa. 42.1 ff., it is essential to note that only the messianic interpretation³⁰⁶ is found in rabbinic literature. The messianic

³⁰³Cf. Aytoun, 172.

³⁰⁴This is generally admitted. Even Dalman, who had tried to escape this conclusion (I, 43–49) was forced to grant it later; G. Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua*, 1929, 172. The tendentious overworking is plainly distinguishable against an older version of the text—Hegermann, 116–122. In the following period the Jewish exegesis of Isa. 53 remains understandably determined by the opposition to the Christian interpretation (see Fischel, 66 f.).

³⁰⁵Whether Isa. 49.6 is to be quoted as a third instance is extremely doubtful. It is true that Raymundus Martini, op. cit. (see n. 273), 645, read a messianic interpretation of Isa. 49.6 in *Gen. maior* on 41.44 (Dalman, I, 97, n. 1); further in the post-talmudic period, in *Pesiq. R.* 31 (cf. Seidelin, 218; Fischel, 62) Isa. 49.8 is once given a messianic interpretation. In this occasional messianic exegesis of the servant of Isa. 49.6 there might, in view of Ecclus. 48.10 (see p. 57), the Visionary Discourses *Eth. En.* (p. 59) and of the N.T. (n. 403), be an echo of an older tradition. But that is not certain. In any case, the *Targ.* does not explain Isa. 49.6 messianically (see n. 214) and we have no other evidence for the rabbinic explanation of Isa. 49.6, apart from the two late texts mentioned.

³⁰⁶*Midr. Ps.* 2 §9 on 2.7 (S.-B., I, 483); 43 §1 on 43.3 (S.-B., I, 87); *Pesiq. R.* 36 (S.-B., II, 288); *Yalqut Shim'oni*, II, 88d, 104d (Dalman, I, 97, n. 1); *Seder Gan'Eden* (ed. A. Jellinek, *Bet-ha-Midrash*, III, 1885, 133.12). Also *Targ. Isa.* ad loc. (see p. 67).

interpretation of Isa. 52.13-53.12 by the Rabbis³⁰⁷ concerns both the passages of exaltation and the passages about suffering.³⁰⁸ In particular the reference of the passages about suffering in Isa. 53 to the Messiah emerges very early with the Rabbis, and simultaneously at several points.

Unfortunately one testimony is textually uncertain. Raymundus Martini (*post* 1278)³⁰⁹ read in *Siphre Lev.* an utterance of R. Jose the Galilaean (*ante* A.D. 135), interpreting Isa. 53.5 as referring to the suffering and sorrowing King-Messiah who, by his pains, justifies all peoples. In our *Siphre Lev.* texts only the context is given (*Siphre Lev.* ויקרא 12.10 on 5.17),³¹⁰ while the two phrases pointing to the Messiah and to Isa. 53 are missing.³¹¹ Have we to do with an interpolation?³¹² In view of the sharpness with which Judaism opposed the Christian exegesis of the passages about suffering in Isa. 53 (cf. p. 75) we must reckon with the possibility of a textual curtailment, especially as elsewhere messianic exegesis of Isa. 53 seems to have been excised.³¹³ This assumption gains a high degree of probability

³⁰⁷A choice of rabbinic texts in S.-B., I, 481-3; further 50 f.

³⁰⁸Rabbinic applications to the Messiah of the exaltation passages of Isa. 52.13 ff.: *Targ.* Isa. here (see p. 68); *Tanch.* תולדות §20 (70a, Buber); *Midr.Ps.* 2 §9 on 2.7. Further examples and parallels, cf. Wünsche, 76; Dalman, I, 84, n. 3; S.-B., I, 483. Cf. Moore, III, 166.

³⁰⁹Op. cit. (see n. 273), cf. Dalman, I, 79 f. 44, n. 2; for text cf. Wünsche, 65 f.; Driver-Neubauer, II, 10 f. About the credibility of Raymundus Martini cf. L. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden historisch entwickelt*², 1892, 301; H. L. Strack, article on 'Raimundus Martin', in *RE*³, 16, 414 f. About the value of his traditions, which has been brilliantly confirmed by a textual discovery in Prague, see Dalman, II, 6, and cf. n. 273; Driver-Neubauer, XXV-XXXV; L. Zunz, *ibid.*, 300-5; Strack, *Einl.*, 223 f. (Lit.).

³¹⁰First edition, Venice, 1545, 15b; ed. Weiss, 1862, 27a.

³¹¹The context discusses the fact that Adam's transgression caused countless sentences of death and puts the question: 'What measure is the greater, that of mercy or that of punitive justice? Answer: the measure of goodness is the greater (here begins the addition of Raymundus Martini) and that of punitive justice is the smaller. How much more then will the king, the Messiah, who suffers and is in agony for the godless, justify all mankind, as it is written: "But he was wounded for our transgressions" (Isa. 53.5). The same is meant by Isa. 53.6: "But the Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all".'

³¹²Thus Dalman, I, 43, 81.

³¹³Justin already reproaches the Judaic teachers with the fact that they completely eliminated from the LXX many texts (πολλὰς γραφὰς τέλειον περιεῖλον) which pointed to the Crucified (*Dial.* 71.2); of the four examples which he names (72.1-73.6, cf. 120.5) three are obviously Christian interpolations. In any case the quick replacement of the LXX by the translation of Aquila (see n. 202) shows that in fact already in the second century A.D. the removal of undesired texts was one of the

from the fact that similar statements have come down to us from a scholar closely connected with R. Jose, likewise a pupil of R. Akiba and, together with R. Jose, a teacher in Jabne and then in Lydda: R. Tarphon (Tryphon).³¹⁴ Justin reports in the *Dial.* that Tryphon several times granted him that the Messiah was παθητός: (36.1; 39.7; 49.2; 68.9; 76.6-77.1; 89.1-2, cf. especially 90.1: παθεῖν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὡς πρόβατον ἀχθήσεσθαι [= Isa. 53.7] οἶδαμεν).³¹⁵ Certainly we must be on our guard against the statements of an apologist. On the other hand it speaks for the credibility of Justin that in his arguments with Tryphon Isa. 53 especially is in question,³¹⁶ which presupposes a common point of departure; and, further, Justin carefully distinguishes between passages and readings which his opponents recognize and those which they do not, and emphasizes that he builds up his

weapons of Jewish anti-Christian polemic. As regards Isa. 53, in particular, 'the single application in *Sanh.* 98b of Isa. 53 to the suffering Messiah' proves that we have to reckon with textual abbreviations (Strack, *Einl.*, 79). This conclusion is supported by the report of mediaeval sources (Ibn Ezra, died 1167 or 1168; according to Dalman, I, 40, n. 2, also מלחמת מצוה, composed 1240) that the section beginning with Isa. 52.13 in *Sotah* I was referred to the Messiah. In our texts of *B. Sotah* this exegesis is not found. Rashi too (died 1105) did not find the messianic exegesis of Isa. 52.13 ff. (apart from 53.4, cf. n. 274) in the *Talmud*, rather, as he expressly says, he only knew of it from hearsay ('Commentary on Isa. 53', text in Wünsche, 94). Further, it is striking that a messianic exegesis of Isa. 53.2 on the part of R. Berechiah, living *circa* A.D. 340 (S.-B., I, 49 f.), has been preserved only through the Christian Raymundus Martini writing about one thousand years later, after A.D. 1278 (op. cit. in n. 273, 594), while in the older sources no trace of it is to be found. The trustworthiness of the information that R. Berechiah explained Isa. 53.2 messianically is supported by the fact that this scholar expounded the doctrine of the suffering of the Messiah (S.-B., II, 285 f.; cf. I, 86 f.). Finally a messianic exegesis of Isa. 53.3, reported by Moshe-ha-darshan (in the first half of the eleventh century) in his work *Gen. R. maior* on 24. 67 (text, Dalman, II, 6 f. after A. Epstein; Wünsche, 69 after Raymundus Martini, op. cit. in n. 273, 671; cf. Dalman, I, 79) is the only citation of Raymundus from *Gen. R. maior*, for which the source is not to be found in the older literature (Dalman, I, 80 f.).

³¹⁴The identity of R. Tarphon and Justin's Tryphon, presupposed in the text, is also asserted by H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*³, IV, 1865, 63 f.; Schürer, II, 444, n. 138 (older literature also quoted here); P. Fiebig, article on 'Tarphon' in *RGG*³, V, 997 f.; B. Altaner, *Patrologie*, 1938, 64; doubts about this identity are raised by S. Krauss, 'The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers', *JQR*, 5, 1893, 125 f.; A. Schlatter, 'Die Tage Trajans und Hadrians', *BFT*, 1, 1897, 97 f.; M. Freimann in *MGWJ*, N.S. 19, 1911, 567 ff.; Strack, *Einl.*, 126 n. 1.

³¹⁵It is completely out of the question to think of gracious concessions on the part of Tryphon (thus A. H. Guignebert, *Le monde juif vers le temps de Jésus*, 1939, 148, n. 1; on the other hand Davies, 281) in view of what we know about his learning (Bacher, *Tannaiten*, I, 342-52) and his hostile attitude towards Jewish Christians (*B. Shab.* 116a).

³¹⁶Twenty-seven quotations in the *Dial.*

christological proof only on the former (Just. *Dial.* 71.2 f., 120.5).

The next quotation comes from *circa* A.D. 200 (cf. n. 271). It is the description of the Messiah as 'the leper' and 'the sick man', on the basis of Isa. 53.4 in *B. Sanh.* 98b (cf. p. 63). The idea that the servant is described as a leper, Isa. 53.4, we first met with in Aquila (cf. pp. 62 f.). Aquila was a pupil of R. Akiba (see n. 263). It can hardly have been an accident that both R. Jose and R. Tarphon, who likewise referred Isa. 53 to the suffering Messiah (cf. pp. 72 f.), were also pupils of Akiba. This coincidence gains increased significance from the fact that R. Akiba himself taught a suffering of the Messiah³¹⁷ and that R. Dosa (*circa* A.D. 180), who for the first time in rabbinic literature explains Zech. 12.12 with reference to the slaying of the Messiah b. Joseph,³¹⁸ was a disciple with Akiba's pupil Jehuda b. El'ai.³¹⁹ R. Akiba, the most influential biblical scholar of the first two centuries A.D., lived *circa* A.D. 50–135.³²⁰ It was his school, represented by R. Tarphon (*circa* A.D. 60–140), R. Jose the Galilean and Aquila (both working *circa* A.D. 100) which, above all, preserved and developed the tradition of the messianic exegesis of the passages about suffering in Isa. 53.

In the third century R. Jochanan (*circa* A.D. 200–279),³²¹ and in the fourth R. Acha (*circa* A.D. 320),³²² applied Isa. 53.5: 'He was wounded for our transgressions', to the sorrows of the

³¹⁷S.-B., II, 284. Akiba concluded from the typology of Mosaic time and messianic time that the latter would involve a forty-year period of distress in the desert, and supported his point by reference to Job 30.4 (*Tanch:* עקב, ed. Vienna 1863, 7b; *TWNT*, IV, 865, 3 ff.).

³¹⁸*B. Sukka* 52a. The casual way of mentioning Messiah b. Joseph and his death shows that we have here a well-known idea (Moore, II, 370; see n. 243). The messianic exegesis of Zech. 12.10 ff. is old: John 19.37; Rev. 1.7, cf. Matt. 24.30; *Targ.* (S.-B., II, 583 f.); *Midr.* (S.-B., II, 298 f.). It is possible that it goes back to the original text (see *TWNT*, III, 848.16 ff.; Torrey, *JBL*, 66, 1947, 253–77).

³¹⁹Bacher, *Tannaiten*, II, 1890, 389; Strack, *Eintl.*, 131. It should further be mentioned that two of Akiba's pupils, R. Jehuda and R. Nehemiah (both *circa* A.D. 150) took part in the oldest rabbinic discussion about Messiah b. Joseph (*Gen. R.* 75 on 32.6).

³²⁰P. Benoit, 'Rabbi Aquiba ben Joseph, Sage et héros du Judaïsme' in *RB* 54, 1947, 56.

³²¹*Ruth R.* 5 on 2.14 (H. L. Strack, 'Zur altjüdischen Theologie', *TB*, 2, 1881, 10 f.; S.-B., I, 27; II, 285). As the name of the author we should read with *Yalqut Shim'oni* ad loc. 603 R. Jochanan instead of R. Jonathan (S.-B., I, 27; II 285; I, 312). cf. Fischel, 62; the correct reading can be found already in Bacher, op. cit. in n. 236, 312.

³²²*Midr. Sam.* 19 §1 (S.-B., II, 287). Cf. Dalman, I, 52, n. 1 for the v.l. citing R. Idi (*circa* A.D. 250) as author.

The Servant of God in Late Judaism

Messiah. R. Berechiah (*circa* A.D. 340) follows with the messianic explanation of Isa. 53.2.³²³ In the post-talmudic period examples multiply,³²⁴ yet on the whole are not numerous. This fact is to be explained by the contradiction between such a conception of the Messiah and the customary one, but especially by the opposition to Christianity.

(*) From the second century A.D. the history of Jewish exegesis of Isa. 53 is shaped increasingly by the opposition to Christianity.³²⁵ This process begins by the avoidance of the description of the Messiah as 'servant of God' and 'the chosen', which the pseudepigraphic writers had used without embarrassment (cf. p. 50 and n. 262), and also of the title 'son of man',³²⁶ and 'Jesus', which had become a *nomen odiosum* (cf. *TWNT*, III, 287, 20 ff.). From the end of the second century the apologetic method of changing the text³²⁷ and of tendentious interpretation was seized upon in translating Isa. 53, in order to dispose of passages which were of use to Christians in their text proofs. This polemical method is used especially in *Targ.* Isa. 53 (cf. pp. 66 ff.). A similar mode of apologetic is used by R. Simlai (*circa* A.D. 250), who applies Isa. 53.12 to Moses (see n. 329). As far as possible, however, Isa. 42.1 ff. and 53 are not used at all.³²⁸ Indeed, it seems that messianic interpretations

³²³S.-B., I, 50 f., cf. n. 313.

³²⁴Dalman, I, 53-84, cf. Dalman, II, 3-19 and the comprehensive collection of texts of Briere-Narbonne, but from the point of view of material not going further than Dalman. We must draw attention to the great description of messianic suffering in *Pesiq.* R. 34-37 which, according to B. J. Bamberger, 'A Messianic Document of the 7th Century', *HUCA*, 15, 1940, 425-43, took shape in Palestine in the years 632-7 and was based upon considerably older material. Isa. 53, it is true, is explicitly quoted only in the form of the text to be found in *Gen. R. maior* of R. Moshe-hadarshan, (see Wünsche, 79, n. 1 after Raymundus Martini, op. cit. in n. 273, 664), but the statements about the vicarious punishment of the Messiah in *Pesiq.* R. 34-37 rest upon the ideas expressed in Isa. 53 (cf. Dalman, I, 67) as is shown especially by the allusion to Isa. 53.11 in *Pesiq.* R. 37 (Moore, I, 552 n. 1).

³²⁵The rich material concerning the anti-Christian apologetic and polemic of Judaism in the first centuries has not yet been exhaustively dealt with.

³²⁶As distinct from *Eth. En.* it is lacking in *Slav. En.* and in the whole of rabbinic literature (S.-B., I, 959; there is also the apparent exception *J. Taan.* 2, 1 [65b], 60).

³²⁷For an example of the change in the Greek text see p. 65 and for an example of the change of the Aramaic text see n. 296; by the change of יפְסִיק (*Targ.* Isa. 53.3) into יפְסִיק, a statement about suffering is transformed into one about glory.

³²⁸Fischel, 66, n. 67: 'Probably the not very frequent use of 42.1 ff.; 50.4 ff., and 52.13 ff. in the *Midrash* is occasioned by the great significance of these texts in Christian exegesis.'

The Servant of God

of Isa. 53 were excised whenever occasion served; in several instances there is at least a suspicion of this sort (cf. n. 313). These observations are very important for our judgement of late Jewish exegesis of Isa. 53. The widespread conclusion, that the relative infrequency of messianic interpretations of Isa. 53 in late Judaism shows that the latter was not acquainted with the idea of the suffering Messiah, does not do justice to the sources; for it ignores the great part which—very understandably—the debate with Christianity played in this question.

The slender amount of evidence is counterbalanced by the fact that there is not to be found a definitely non-messianic exegesis of Isa. 53 in the rabbinic literature of the first millennium A.D.³²⁹ This is especially striking when we examine rabbinic statements about the atoning power of death. This idea gains ground extraordinarily in late Judaism. The execution has atoning effect if the criminal has made the expiatory vow ('May my death expiate all my sins', see n. 475); every dying person is entreated to say this expiatory vow. Furthermore, late Judaism from pre-Christian times realizes the vicarious expiatory power inherent in the death of the high priest, of martyrs, of the righteous, of the patriarchs, of innocent children. It is astonishing that in this rich material there is no reference to Isa. 53.³³⁰ Of this there is only one possible explanation: the connexion of Isa. 53 with the Messiah was from pre-Christian days so firmly and exclusively held by Palestinian Judaism that the application of this chapter to the expiatory death of the righteous was automatically excluded from consideration.³³¹

³²⁹It is very questionable whether in Palestinian Judaism of the first millennium there existed any other exegesis of Isa. 53 except the messianic one (unlike Hellenistic Judaism; cf. p. 53), if one leaves out of account *B. Sotah*, 14a, where Isa. 53.12 is referred by R. Simlai (circa 250) to Moses' intercession; for here it is a question of a distortion for apologetic motives (see pp. 56 f.). The passages collected by S.-B. in 'Isa. 53 in the Older Literature' (I, 481-5), under the heading B. 'Allusions to the Righteous' (I, 483, 485), are references to isolated texts torn from their context (see pp. 54 f., 65). The one Midrash text quoted by S.-B. under 'C. Allusions to the people of Israel' (I, 485), *Num. R.*, 13 on 13.2 (anonymous), comes from a *Midrash* composed in the twelfth century.

³³⁰The sole exception, R. Simlai (circa A.D. 250) is apparent only; see n. 329.

³³¹I owe this important observation to E. Lohse. In passing we must deal with two objections to our conclusion. First: is it not implied by the repeated remark of the evangelists that the disciples did not understand the predictions of the passion that the conception of a suffering Messiah was completely unknown to them? Mark only adds the information about the failure of the disciples to understand to the second account of the prediction of the passion (9.32: οἱ δὲ ἠγγύουν τὸ ῥῆμα, καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο

The Servant of God in Late Judaism

To sum up: (1) messianic interpretation of the Deutero-Isaianic servant in Palestinian Judaism was limited to Isa. 42.1 ff.,³³² 43.10;³³³ 49.1 f., 6 f.,³³⁴ and 52.13 ff.,³³⁵; with this New Testament data agree.³³⁶ (2) For Isa. 42.1 ff. and 52.13 ff. messianic interpretation is constant from pre-Christian times. Isa. 52.13 ff. is in this connexion regarded as a last judgement scene.³³⁷ (3) As far as the messianic interpretation of the passages about suffering in Isa. 53.1-12 is concerned, this can again be traced back with great probability to pre-Christian times.³³⁸ Here the suffering of the Messiah is thought of without exception up to the talmudic

αὐτὸν ἐπερωτήσαι). Here it is a question of a more recent variant of the quite different remark of Peter (8.32, in connexion with the first prediction of the passion), the antiquity of which is assured by the sharpness of the rebuke of Jesus denouncing Peter as Satan. But the point is that the disciples' failure to understand is by no means, in Mark, related solely to the passion of Jesus, but runs like a motif through the whole of Mark's Gospel (4.13, 40 f.; 6.52; 7.18; 8.16-21; 9.32; 10.38); cf. Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 1901, 93-114. In Mark 6.52 the disciples' lack of understanding occurs in a remark of the evangelist; 8.16-21 is, quite plainly, by its reference to the doublet of the feeding miracle, recognizable as a piece of literary composition. In Luke the motif is still more distinct (cf. 9.45 with Mark 9.32); he has added 18.34 without the Marcan parallel. Finally, the Gospel of John broadens the motif into a constant misunderstanding of the most far-reaching extent. Parallels in comparative religion make it probable that we have here an epiphany motif (J. Ebeling: 'Das Messiasgeheimnis und die Botschaft des Marcus-Evangelisten', *ZNW*, Beiheft 19, 1939, 167 f., 170). If that is correct then historical deductions are illegitimate. But even apart from that the misunderstanding would be intelligible (ἀγνοεῖν, Mark 9.32, can also mean 'fail to recognize'), for the passion and death of the Messiah completely contradicted popular expectations. Second: is it not implied in the offence which the Jews found in the preaching of the cross (I Cor. 1.23) that the conception of a suffering Messiah was alien to them? In fact the messianic interpretation of Isa. 53 must have been foreign to Hellenistic Judaism (cf. p. 53). So much more must the manner of the death of Jesus have been offensive and even for Palestinian Judaism this was the real scandal: death on the cross is accursed (Gal. 3.13; Justin, *Dial.*, 90).

³³²Cf. p. 53.

³³³Only in the *Targ.* ad loc. See p. 67 and n. 293.

³³⁴Cf. p. 59 and n. 305 and p. 57.

³³⁵Cf. pp. 57-76.

³³⁶Cf. p. 93. Only the messianic exegesis of Isa. 43.10 is not to be found in the N.T.

³³⁷Hellenistic and Palestinian Judaism agree in relating Isa. 52.13 ff. to the last judgement (Wisd. 5.1 f.; *Eth. En.* 46.4 f.; 48.8; 55.4; 62.1-9; 63.1-11. J. Jeremias 'Das Lösegeld für Viele', *Judaica* 3, 1948, 263 f.).

³³⁸Outside LXX it is to be found in *Test. B.* (cf. p. 57), in the *Peshitta* (see p. 60), in *Aquila* (p. 62), in *R. Jose* (see p. 72) and *R. Tryphon* (see p. 73), in *Theodotion* (p. 64) and in other rabbinic texts (see p. 74) and traces of it probably in *Targ.* Isa. 53 (see p. 70). Against the idea that the messianic interpretation of Isa. 53 in Judaism belongs only to the second century A.D. Buber has recently expressed himself with decision (see Buber, 78, n. 6).

The Servant of God

period as taking place before the final victorious establishment of his rule.³³⁹ When the meaning of messianic suffering is considered, the answer is that the Messiah suffers vicariously to expiate the sins of Israel.³⁴⁰

³³⁹S.-B., II, 291.

³⁴⁰*Test. B.* 3.8, see p. 57; *Sipbre Lev.*, see p. 72; *B. Sanh.* 98b, and *B. Sanh.* 98a, see p. 63 (cf. in addition S.-B., II, 286); *Ruth R.* 5 on 2.14, see n. 321; *Midr. Sam.* 19 § 1, see n. 322; *Pesiq. R.* 31 (S.-B., II, 287); *Pesiq. R.* 36 (S.-B., II, 288); *Midr. Kohen* (S.-B., II, 290). Cf. S.-B., II, 291 f.—but note that only according to the *Peshitta* the Messiah suffers for the sins of many peoples (see Hegermann, 96 f. on Isa. 52.15).

IV

ΠΑῖς Θεοῦ IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

The expression παῖς (of God)³⁴¹ occurs only rarely in the N.T. as in late Judaism (cf. p. 43): Matt. 12.18; Luke 1.54, 69; Acts 3.13, 26; 4.25, 27, 30. Of these eight texts one refers to Israel (Luke 1.54), two to David (Luke 1.69; Acts 4.25), the remaining five to Jesus.³⁴² The phrase in the Magnificat: ἀντελάβετο Ἰσραὴλ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ (Luke 1.54) is a reference to Isa. 41.8 f.: σὺ δέ, Ἰσραὴλ, παῖς μου Ἰακώβ, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην, σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ, ὃν ἡγάπησα, οὗ ἀντελαβόμεν. The collective use of the expression corresponds to what we find in the O.T. (cf. n. 175) and in late Judaism (cf. nn. 177, 213). As in *Ps. Sol.* 12.6 the pious nucleus of Israel is thought of. The liturgical style, too, is also common to Luke 1.54 and *Ps. Sol.* 12.6; 17.21. The description of David as servant of God likewise has associations with late Judaism. As there (see n. 184) so too in primitive Christianity we find the use of it occurring exclusively in prayers: in the Benedictus, Luke 1.69: ἐν οἴκῳ Δαυὶδ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ; in the prayer of the primitive community after the release of the apostles, Acts 4.25: ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυὶδ παιδὸς σου εἰπών;³⁴³ and in the eucharistic prayer accompanying the chalice, *Did.* 9.2: εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυὶδ τοῦ παιδὸς σου 'of whom David thy servant speaks' (i.e., in *Ps.* 80.8 ff.).³⁴⁴ 'David

³⁴¹Throughout the N.T. with the possessive pronoun: ὁ παῖς μου (Matt. 12.18), σου (Acts 4.25, 27, 30), αὐτοῦ (Luke 1.54, 69; Acts 3.13, 26), i.e., of God.

³⁴²Christians on the other hand are called δοῦλοι Θεοῦ, never παῖδες Θεοῦ.

³⁴³The text is overcharged. Presumably the two words πνεύματος ἁγίου are quite an old gloss.

³⁴⁴R. Eisler has demonstrated convincingly, 'Das Letzte Abendmahl', *ZNW*, 25, 1926, 6 f., that this is the meaning of the apparently puzzling expression ἡ ἁγία ἄμπελος Δαυὶδ.

thy servant' is therefore a liturgical formula of late Judaism which primitive Christianity took over.

It is likewise a question of O.T. and late Jewish usage when in I. Cl. 39.4 (= Job 4.18) the angels, in II Esd. (IV Ezra) 1.32; 2.1 (second century A.D.) the prophets and in 2.18 Isaiah and Jeremiah are called the servants of God (cf. n. 174 [angels] and n. 167 [prophets]).

1 Παῖς Θεοῦ AS A TITLE OF JESUS

(i) *The origin of the title.* In the N.T. Jesus receives the title παῖς Θεοῦ strikingly seldom, viz. only in one quotation in Matt. (12.18 = Isa. 42.1), and in four places in Acts (3.13, 26; 4.27, 30). In all five instances we have to do with an ancient tradition.

For Matt. 12.18 this is clear from the mixed' character of the quotation. Behind Matt. 12.18-20 (= Isa. 42.1-3) there lies the Heb. text,³⁴⁵ but in the last verse of the quotation (Matt. 12.21 = Isa. 42.4d) suddenly we find that the LXX is cited.³⁴⁶ Thus two hands are visible,³⁴⁷ which allows us to infer a previous history of the text. That the first hand uses the Heb. text points back to the area of semitic linguistic usage. As regards the four places in the Acts, an ancient date is suggested by the fact that the occurrence of παῖς Θεοῦ is confined to Acts 3, 4, i.e., to a Palestinian stratum of tradition which in other respects, too, is marked by its ancient character.³⁴⁸

But it may be presumed that the description of Jesus as παῖς Θεοῦ lies behind yet other N.T. passages. We must note here chiefly the voice of the baptism (Mark 1.11 par.) and the voice at the transfiguration (Mark 9.7 par.).

³⁴⁵The wording of the text in Matthew deviates much from the LXX, whose collective interpretation of παῖς in Isa. 42.1 (see p. 52) would not have made possible the application of the passage to Jesus. (Against the hypothesis of Kahle, op. cit. in n. 257, 167, that Matthew used an older lost Greek translation of Isa., cf. P. Katz 'Das Problem des Urtextes der Septuaginta', TZ, 5, 1949, 18).

³⁴⁶LXX has for יְהוָה (Isa. 42.4) ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ which must be a scribal error for ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ (Ziegler, 'Isaias', ad loc.). In Matt. τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, the scribal error of LXX recurs.

³⁴⁷Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1929, 402. Matthew himself seems to be quoting from LXX.

³⁴⁸Gewiss, 39; W. Grundmann, 'Das Problem des hellenistischen Christentums innerhalb der Jerusalemer Urgemeinde', ZNW, 38, 1939, 53; see especially Lohmeyer, *Gottesknecht*, 143.

The comparison of:

Mark 1.11 = Luke 3.22 ³⁴⁹ par. Matt. 3.17 σὺ εἶ (οὗτός ἐστιν Matt.) ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ (ᾧ Matt.) εὐδόκησα (cf. Mark 1.10 par.: τὸ πνεῦμα . . . καταβαῖνον εἰς αὐτόν	with Isa 42.1 (as quoted in Matt. 12.18) ἰδοὺ ὁ παῖς μου ὃν ἡρέτισα, ὁ ἀγαπητός μου ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου. θήσω τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν
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has long since suggested the question whether the υἱός μου of the voice at the baptism and the transfiguration does not go back to παῖς μου (so LXX Isa. 42.1). In that case Mark 1.11 par. and 9.7 par. would not be a combined quotation from Ps. 2.7 and Isa. 42.1, but originally only Isa. 42.1 (Heb. text) would have been quoted and the ambiguous παῖς μου (1: my servant; 2: my child) would before Mark have been clarified to υἱός μου on Hellenistic territory where the description of Jesus as παῖς μου was early avoided.³⁵⁰

The hypothesis that the voice at the baptism was originally purely an echo of Isa. 42.1 is supported by several considerations. First, the heavenly voice, Mark 1.11, is obviously meant to explain the impartation of the Spirit (Mark 1.10) as a fulfilment of scripture.³⁵¹ As so often in O.T. quotations, e.g., in rabbinic literature, the continuation of the passage (Isa. 42.1 in Matt. 12.18c) is implied but not actually quoted: θήσω³⁵² τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν. Thus the heavenly voice affirms that the promise given in Isa. 42.1 about the gift of the Spirit has just been fulfilled. Second, when the text of the divine declaration at the baptism and the transfiguration wavers between ἀγαπητός

³⁴⁹The Western reading of Luke 3.22: υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε (=LXX Ps. 2.7) is nothing except one of those assimilations of N.T. quotations to the O.T. original (in this case supposed) which the Western text has undertaken in numerous instances and which are highly characteristic of it, e.g., Mark 15.34 par. Matt. 27.46, where the Western text has replaced the Aramaic quotation of Ps. 22 by the Heb. text.

³⁵⁰Dalman, *WJ*, 277; cf. Bousset, 57 n. 2; Lohmeyer, *Gottesknecht*, 9; cf. Cullmann, *Baptism in the New Testament*, 16-18. A similar process occurs with regard to the text of John 1.34 where the original ὁ ἐκλεκτός becomes ὁ υἱός (see n. 261); here again it is a question of Isa. 42.1.

³⁵¹Dalman, *WJ*, 277.

³⁵²The perfect of the Heb. text is translated as future in Matt. 12.18.

(Mark 1.11 par.; 9.7 par. Matt. 17.5 and Luke 9.35 v.l., II Peter 1.17) and ἐκλελεγμένος (Luke 9.35), we presumably have variations in the translation of עֲבָדִי Isa. 42.1, which is sometimes rendered by ἐκλεκτός (LXX, Σ and Θ), and sometimes by ἀγαπητός (Matt. 12.18). Third, in John 1.34 the heavenly voice at the baptism,³⁵³ according to the supposed oldest text (see n. 261), is given in the words: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ. But 'the chosen of God' is a messianic designation coming from Isa. 42.1 (cf. pp. 58 ff.). John 1.34 shows very plainly that the baptismal declaration originally must have been a consistent quotation from Isa. 42.1. If that is correct then it would be confirmed (cf. p. 80) that the designation of Jesus as παῖς θεοῦ belongs to a very old (pre-Marcian) layer of the tradition.³⁵⁴

Further indirect evidence of the παῖς θεοῦ predication and its great antiquity is possibly furnished by the Johannine literature.

First, we have John 1.29, 36: ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (+v. 29: ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου). It has already been shown (TWNT, I, 342 f., 185.19 ff.) that the expression ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ conceals both a factual and a linguistic difficulty. (1) The description of the Saviour as a lamb is unknown to late Judaism. (2) The expression is an unparalleled genitive combination. Both difficulties are solved if we refer to the Aramaic where אֲמִן means (a) the lamb, (b) the boy, the servant.³⁵⁵ Probably behind the phrase ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ lies an Aramaic אֲמִן דְּאֲמִן in the sense of עֲבָדִי יְהוָה (cf. n. 164, 176);³⁵⁶ this

³⁵³Cullmann, *Baptism*, 16 ff., also *Early Christian Worship*, 64 f.

³⁵⁴The consequences which result from this are extraordinarily far-reaching. It means not merely that the voice at baptism has nothing to do with kingly enthronement, adoption, etc., but that there arises above all the question whether the παῖς θεοῦ predication does not play an essential part in the emergence of the messianic title ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ which was unknown to late Judaism.

³⁵⁵Examples of אֲמִן = 'servant' in the west Aramaic dialects (Palestinian *Midrash* and *Talmud*, the *Targums*, and Christian Palestinian dialect) may be found in J. Jeremias, «'Αμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ», 116 f.

³⁵⁶C. J. Ball, 'Had the Fourth Gospel an Aramaic Archetype?', *ET*, 21, 1909/10, 92 f.; C. F. Burney, 107 f.; Lohmeyer, *Apokalypse* (HNT), 1951, 52; J. Jeremias, «'Αμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ», 115-23; Zolli, 228-33; W. F. Howard, *Christianity According to St. John*, 1943, 100 f.; G. S. Duncan, *Jesus, Son of Man*, 1947, 91 n. 4; Cullmann, *Baptism*, 21 n. 1; 'Gesù', 55; *Early Christian Worship*, 65 f. In regard to the opinion expressed by C. H. Dodd (in his discussion of the TWNT article «ἀμνός») in *JTS*, 34, 1933, 285, that

supposition is also supported by the reference of John 1. 29b ὁ ἀγρων τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου to the 'ebed phrase Isa. 53.12 (הָיָה חֵטָא רַבִּים נִשָּׂא, cf. *TWNT*, I, 185, 25 ff.). Also the description of Jesus in Rev. (28 times)³⁵⁷ as ἀρνίον must on account of the lack of an analogy in late Judaism, go back to the same ambiguous טְלִיָּה.³⁵⁸ If this hypothesis is correct, then the predication παῖς θεοῦ of Jesus must spring from the Aramaic-speaking primitive church.

A surprising confirmation of the great antiquity of the predication is furnished, finally, by its history in the ancient church.³⁵⁹ Apart from three quotations³⁶⁰ and from Acts, the description of Jesus as παῖς θεοῦ in gentile Christian literature is met with up to 160 only at eleven places and only in three writings.

It is found in the *Didache* in the old prayers of the agape³⁶¹ (celebrated before the eucharist) to be said before and after the meal (9.2, 3; 10.2, 3) and in the prayer for unction (10.7 Copt.),³⁶² in all five places we have the stereotyped formula: διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου;³⁶³ also in the great Roman church prayer I *Cl.* 59, 2-4,³⁶⁴ in Polycarp's prayer³⁶⁵ joined to the eucharistic

Targ. Isa. renders יהוה עֲבָד by עֲבָדָא (not by טְלִיָּה), we must recall what was said on pp. 51 f.: from about A.D. 100, Greek-speaking Judaism brusquely changes from παῖς θεοῦ to δοῦλος θεοῦ; we may assume that Aramaic-speaking Judaism made a similar change from טְלִיָּה to עֲבָדָא. In addition, it is to be noted that the primitive church demonstrably spoke of Jesus as παῖς (= *טְלִיָּה) (Acts 3.13, 26; 4.27, 30) in express distinction from the N.T. messengers of God who are called δοῦλοι (= *עֲבָדֵי) θεοῦ.

³⁵⁷Probably (owing to the lacking τοῦ θεοῦ) circuitously through ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (a point made by Kuhn).

³⁵⁸*TWNT*, I, 343, 15-19; Lohmeyer, *Apokalypse*, 52.

³⁵⁹By the brilliant investigation of A. v. Harnack, 'Die Bezeichnung Jesu als "Knecht Gottes" und ihre Geschichte in der alten Kirche' this has been illuminated in exemplary fashion.

³⁶⁰Matt. 12.18; further Barn. where παῖς κυρίου (6.1) and in particular παῖς μου (9.2) are inserted in O.T. quotations.

³⁶¹Cf. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 84 f.

³⁶²Ed. C. Schmidt, 'Das koptische *Didache*-Fragment des British Museum', *ZNW*, 24, 1925, 85, cf. 94.

³⁶³*Did.* 10.3: read Ἰησοῦ with the Coptic translation.

³⁶⁴I *Cl.* 59.2: διὰ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; 59.3: διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου παιδὸς σου; 59.4: σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ παῖς σου.

³⁶⁵See v. Harnack, 221, cf. Bousset, 56.

prayer of Smyrna, *Mart. Pol.* 14.1-3³⁶⁶ and in the concluding doxology of the *Mart. Pol.* 20.2.³⁶⁷ Thus in all eleven places we have to do with prayers and (with the exception of the doxological formulae I *Cl.* 59.4, see n. 364; *Mart. Pol.* 14.1, see n. 366) always with the liturgical formula: διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου.

This plain prayer formula is very old.³⁶⁸ So much is already clear from the absence of Χριστός in the oldest examples of the formula (*Acts* 4.30; *Did.* 9.2, 3; 10.2, 3, 7)³⁶⁹ but especially from the observation that in διὰ Δαυὶδ τοῦ παιδὸς σου (*Acts* 4.25) it has an old Palestinian³⁷⁰ parallel. Further, of the four examples in *Acts*, two stand in a prayer (4.27, 30), and one of these likewise offers the formula διὰ . . . τοῦ . . . παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ (4.30). Surveying the examples of the description of Jesus as παῖς θεοῦ we may conclude (1) that the title παῖς θεοῦ was at no time on gentile Christian territory an accepted designation of the Messiah (it is not found in Paul); the titles κύριος, Χριστός, υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ were there preferred. (2) In the gentile churches the title lived on rather as a liturgical formula which became fixed at an early date and which was anchored in the eucharistic prayer, in the doxology and in the confession.³⁷¹

Later times confirm these views.³⁷² παῖς θεοῦ remains infrequent. The title persists in prayers and doxologies, otherwise almost solely in solemn sacral speech. It does not influence the phraseology of dogmatics but remains confined to liturgy and exalted speech. From the fifth century παῖς disappears altogether as a description of Christ.³⁷³

If our examination so far has, step by step, pointed to the ancient

³⁶⁶*Mart. Pol.* 14.1: ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατήρ, δι' οὗ . . . 14.3: διὰ . . . Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδὸς.

³⁶⁷20.2: διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

³⁶⁸v. Harnack, 235, n. 3 considers the question whether the frequent Pauline formula διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is an imitation of διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου.

³⁶⁹v. Harnack, 219 f.

³⁷⁰Cf. II Sam. 3.18: יְיָ עִמָּךְ יְיָ עִמָּךְ = LXX: ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ δούλου μου Δαυὶδ; I Mac. 4.30: ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ δούλου σου Δαυὶδ (with διὰ cum acc. Isa. 37.35: διὰ Δαυὶδ τὸν παῖδά μου; with δούλος: III Βασ. 11.13, 32, 34; IV Βασ. 8.19; 19.34; 20.6; with ἐνεκεν: ψ 131.10).

³⁷¹I *Cl.* 59.4: σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ παῖς σου is a formula of confession.

³⁷²Collection of material in v. Harnack, 224-33.

³⁷³v. Harnack, 236-8.

The Servant of God in the New Testament

date of the title and its origin in Palestine, the information given by Epiphanius that the Ebionites *ἐνα θεὸν καταγγέλλουσι καὶ τὸν τούτου παῖδα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*³⁷⁴ gains in significance. Above all, the disappearance in Palestinian Judaism of 'God's servant' as a description of the Messiah (cf. p. 85) is indirect evidence of the fact that the description of Jesus as servant of God was alive in Palestinian Christianity. Thus we must seek the home and origin of the title³⁷⁵ in the first Palestinian community. From the first it was offensive to the gentile church on account of its lowliness.

(ii) *The meaning of the predication.* The fact that as a description of Jesus *παῖς θεοῦ* means originally 'servant of God' (not 'child of God'), is implied by the striking reserve shown by the gentile church towards this predication—a reserve which can only be due to the offence caused by its lowly character. But it is also implied by the application of the title in neighbouring passages to David and Jesus in Acts (David: 4.25; Jesus: 4.27, 30) and in the *Didache* (David: 9.2; Jesus: 9.2, 3): for it is certain that David is here called servant of God.³⁷⁶ The only question is whether we have here merely a title of honour for the application of which to eminent men of God there is evidence (cf. p. 48) in late Judaism³⁷⁷ (of course only in isolated cases)—e.g., David: Luke, 1.69; Acts 4.25; *Did.* 9.2—or whether there is a special reminiscence of the servant texts of Deut. Isa.³⁷⁸

We must not make the alternative too sharp since in both cases the title is one of honour; we might also possibly have to reckon with a transition from the general to the special use. The possibility that it is an instance of the general title seems to find support in the juxtaposition of *παῖς θεοῦ Δαυίδ* and *παῖς θεοῦ Ἰησοῦς* (cf. l. 18 above), which Acts seems to find inadequate.³⁷⁹ Nevertheless, it will be well to be on one's guard against the idea that 'his (thy holy) servant (Jesus)', Acts 3.13, 26; 4.27, 30,

³⁷⁴Epiph. *Haer.* 29.7.3. Cf. Bousset 56 f., especially cf. 56, n. 2.

³⁷⁵Rightly observed by Bousset, 57. See further, pp. 94 f. below.

³⁷⁶*παῖς θεοῦ* in the meaning 'child of God' is besides extraordinarily infrequent in Hellenistic Judaism (cf. p. 43).

³⁷⁷Thus especially Cadbury.

³⁷⁸This is the predominant view represented above all by v. Harnack.

³⁷⁹The fact that only in Acts 4.27, 30 (not 3.13, 26) is the adjective *ἅγιος* found in connexion with Jesus (*ὁ ἅγιος παῖς σου Ἰησοῦς*) could be caused by the intention to make a difference between the *παῖς* Jesus and the *παῖς* David (4.25).

The Servant of God

is merely a name of honour applied to Jesus as to other men of God; for the primitive church from the very first regarded Jesus as the Messiah. Παῖς θεοῦ, however, in the O.T. and in late Judaism, was at no time a title of the Messiah (cf. p. 50) but occurs without exception as a messianic designation only in the form 'my servant' of divine discourse; whereas in Acts, as the possessive pronouns show ('his'—Acts 3.13, 36; 'thy' servant—4.27, 30), servant of God is a title of Jesus. Thus παῖς θεοῦ as a messianic title cannot have been transferred to Jesus. In that case so much the more important are the associations of the designation of Jesus as παῖς θεοῦ with Deut. Isa., to be found not merely in the form of quotation (Matt. 12.18; see further p. 81 on Mark 1.11 par.; 9.7 par.), but also of reference (Acts 3.13 cf. 14³⁸⁰; see p. 82 on John 1.29 and p. 97 on Phil. 2.6–11).

Thus it must on balance appear probable that the predication of Jesus as the servant of God is meant from the start to characterize him as the servant of the Lord prophesied in Isa. 42 and 53.³⁸¹ At the very least the transition from the general use of the title as a mark of honour to the special connexion with Deut. Isa. must have taken place very early.

(iii) *The semantic change from 'servant of God' to 'child of God'.* In the gentile churches παῖς θεοῦ as a description of Jesus had acquired at latest by the second century the meaning 'child of God'.

This change of meaning is certainly present in *Mart. Pol.* 14. 1: κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ (as the combination παῖς/πατὴρ shows) and 20.2: διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

³⁸⁰It should be noticed that the very first of the four passages in Acts (3.13, 26; 4.27, 30) plainly alludes to Deut. Isa. Acts 3.13: ὁ θεὸς . . . ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν (cf. Isa. 52.13: ὁ παῖς μου . . . δοξασθήσεται), ὃν ὑμεῖς μὲν παρεδώκατε (cf. Isa. 53.6: παρέδωκεν αὐτόν) καὶ ἠρνήσασθε (cf. Isa. 53.2 *Peshitta*; *Eth. En.* 48.10); 3.14: τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον (cf. Isa. 53.11: δίκαιον, cf. p. 59) ἠρνήσασθε; 3.18: (God) προκατήγγειλεν διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν προφητῶν, παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ. The reference of Acts 3.13 to Isa. 52.13 also appears in the fact that Acts 3.13 is the only text in the Synoptics and Acts in which δοξάζειν has the meaning 'transfigure'.

³⁸¹Cf. v. Harnack, 213; cf. Torrey, 32 f.; also M. Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*², 1933, 16; Euler, 45; Wolff, 86 f.; Lohmeyer, *Gottesknecht*, 22 f.

The Servant of God in the New Testament

(as the association with μονογενής shows).³⁸² It is probable³⁸³ that the understanding of παῖς θεοῦ as 'child of God' is already present in I Cl. 59.2 f. where Jesus Christ is called ὁ ἡγαπημένος παῖς. Also the formula σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ παῖς σου (59.4) points to the sense 'child of God'.³⁸⁴ It is certain that the semantic change from servant to child of God was a gradual one³⁸⁵ and that it did not take place³⁸⁶ everywhere at the same time. The meaning 'servant of God', as the *Didache* shows (cf. p. 85), persisted most obstinately in liturgical formulae.

How obvious for Hellenistic feeling the understanding of παῖς θεοῦ as 'child of God' must have been is clear from contemporary literature; for Hellenistic Judaism cf. pp. 44, 51, for Hellenistic paganism cf. *Corp. Herm.* XIII, 2³⁸⁷: ὁ γεννώμενος θεοῦ θεὸς παῖς. XIII, 4: the new birth effects ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς, ἄνθρωπος εἷς. XIII, 14: θεὸς πέφυκας καὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς παῖς. In addition the word παῖς had something archaic and distinguished about it,³⁸⁸ so that, for example, the emperor's son could be described as Καίσαρος παῖς.³⁸⁹ At the same time it must not be forgotten that in παῖς the more lowly associations are always present as well; for this reason παῖς θεοῦ, in spite of the semantic change from 'servant' to 'son of God' was unable to take root in the area of gentile Christianity (cf. p. 84).

³⁸²Cf. the ecstatic exclamation of the prophets mentioned by Celsus: ἐγὼ ὁ θεός εἰμι ἢ θεοῦ παῖς ἢ πνεῦμα (Orig. *Cels.* 7.9).

³⁸³Dalman, *WJ*, 278: 'unmistakable'.

³⁸⁴We are taken back to a still earlier period if the supposition is correct that a παῖς μου lay behind the υἱός μου of the story of the baptism and transfiguration (cf. pp. 80 f.), and that the title ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ grew out of ὁ παῖς τοῦ θεοῦ (see n. 354).

³⁸⁵The old Latin Codices of Acts 3.13, 26 and 4.27, 30 give us a glimpse into the process: in all four texts an original *puer* is gradually supplanted by *filius* (v. Harnack, 218). In this matter the *Codices* are to some extent fluctuating: the *Vulgate* still has *filius* in Acts 3.13, 26; 4.30, but *puer* in 4.27 (under the influence of 4.25). The repugnance to *puer* is, in the western church, 'almost as old as the translation itself' (v. Harnack, 218), already the Bible text of Tertullian read, 4.27, *filius* (Tertullian *Bapt.*, 7; *adversus Praxean*, 28). Quite similar is the fluctuation of the Christian translator of II. Esd. (IV Ezra) in the rendering of the messianic title παῖς μου (see n. 196).

³⁸⁶The Syr. has ܐܒ in all four places: Acts 3.13, 26; 4.27, 30.

³⁸⁷*Corp. Herm.*, ed. A. D. Nock-A. J. Festugière, I, II = *Collection des Universités de France* (1945).

³⁸⁸v. Harnack, 225; on p. 237 he compares the German word 'Weib'.

³⁸⁹Justin, *Epit.* 2.16; cf. Melito in Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* IV 26.7; Athenag. *Suppl.* 37.1.

2. CHRISTOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH
SERVANT OF GOD IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

It became clear on investigating παῖς θεοῦ in late Judaism (pp. 43 ff.) that mere linguistic inquiry, however indispensable as a basis, did not lead us to the heart of the problem of the servant of God. In order to grapple with this the question of the interpretation of Deut. Isa. servant passages in late Judaism had to be approached. Exactly the same applies to the N.T. We broach the decisive question only when we ask: (a) where in the N.T. do we find christological interpretations of the servant passages of Deut. Isa.? (b) What is their historical setting in the life of the early church?

(i) *The evidence.* There are strikingly few N.T. passages where in specific quotation a word relating to the servant of Deut. Isa. is applied to Jesus: Matt. 8.17 (Isa. 53.4); 12.18-21 (Isa. 42.1-4); Luke 22.37 (Isa. 53.12); John 12.38 (Isa. 53.1); Acts 8.32 f. (Isa. 53.7 f.);³⁹⁰ Rom. 15.21 (Isa. 52.15).³⁹¹ But the limitation to express quotations would give a false picture, and in our problem especially would involve a serious error of method such as has not always been avoided.³⁹² If we add to the quotations direct or indirect allusions then we have the following picture of the N.T. evidence of the christological interpretations of the Deut. Isa. servant:

(a) Pre-Pauline stock of tradition and formulae. Here must first be mentioned the primitive *kerygma* of I Cor. 15.3-5 which is based on a semitic original,³⁹³ and of which the κατὰ τὰς γραφάς of v. 3, because of the ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, must be an allusion to Isa. 53.³⁹⁴ Further, to this pre-Pauline stock of

³⁹⁰In Acts 13.47: τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἔθνων τοῦ εἶναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς (= Isa. 49.6, LXX) it cannot safely be said whether the twofold σε is related to Jesus or to the apostles. But the introduction (οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος) and the comparison with Acts 26.18 says more for the second possibility.

³⁹¹The christological feature lies in περὶ αὐτοῦ.

³⁹²Rightly emphasized by Wolff, 69, 79, 85, 102, 106, etc. Also the usual limitation to Isa. 53, and omission of the other servant passages of Deut. Isa., prejudices the picture.

³⁹³To the examples given in Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 129 ff. should be added the *parallelismus membrorum* between the first and third ὅτι phrases, both of which end with κατὰ τὰς γραφάς; a shorter ὅτι phrase (second and fourth ὅτι phrases) is co-ordinated.

³⁹⁴Most recently cf. Lohmeyer, *Gottesknecht*, 39; Cullmann, 'Gesù', 57 f.

tradition belong the liturgically formulated ³⁹⁵ eucharistic words of I Cor. 11.23-25, ³⁹⁶ the christological formula of Rom. 4.25 ³⁹⁷ built up in synthetic *parallelismus membrorum*, the confessional formula of Rom. 8.34 (cf. p. 95), the Christ hymn in Phil. 2.6-11, ³⁹⁸ the word about ransom in I Tim. 2.6 (see n. 401), and the ancient ὑπέρ formula, very frequent in Paul, with its variants (see n. 435), which in Rom. 8.32 (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτόν) is connected with an expression from Isa. 53.6 LXX (παρέδωκεν αὐτόν). ³⁹⁹ This means that all Pauline allusions to the 'ebed-Yahweh texts of Deut. Isa. apart from Rom. 15.21 (see p. 93), make use of an ancient stock of tradition.

(b) Pre-synoptic stock of tradition and formulae. In the synoptics, too, most of the allusions to the 'ebed-Yahweh texts of Deut. Isa. can be shown to be based on ancient tradition. This is the case for the ancient eucharistic formulae (Mark 14.24 par.) ⁴⁰⁰ and the λύτρον saying (Mark 10.45 par. Matt. 20.28) ⁴⁰¹ with certainty on account of the linguistic characteristics; for

³⁹⁵Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 128 ff.

³⁹⁶For the allusion to Isa. 53 see n. 438 (παρεδίδωτο) and p. 95 below (a ὑπέρ formula).

³⁹⁷παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν Rom. 4.25 is a free quotation from διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη Isa. 53.12, LXX (cf. διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν 53.5, LXX); the fact of a free quotation is confirmed by διὰ with the accusative instead of Paul's usual ὑπέρ (cf. n. 435), and by the absolute use of the passive παραδιδόναι, cf. n.438. For the pre-Pauline character of the formula cf. H. Leitzmann *An die Römer*⁴, 1933, ad loc.; Stauffer, *New Testament Theology*, 1955, 132, 136; Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 31.

³⁹⁸For the allusion to Isa. 53 see p. 97 below. Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus*, has demonstrated the pre-Pauline character of Phil. 2.6 ff. It is confirmed by the observation that the Heb. text of Isa. 53 is used.

³⁹⁹Also Rom. 3.25 should belong here: ἱλαστήριον (atoning sacrifice, analogous to σωτήριον, χαριστήριον, καθάρσιον scil. θύμα) might be a rendering of עֲוֹן (Isa. 53.10); for the pre-Pauline age of the passage cf. διὰ and acc. (n. 435), which is unusual in Paul, and Bultmann, *Theology*, I, 31, 46. If Rom. 5.19b (διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται οἱ πολλοί) is a reference to Isa. 53.11 . . . קִיָּיִךְ (יְרִיבִיךְ) (thus S. Mowinckel, 'Die Vorstellungen des Spätjudentums vom heiligen Geist als Fürsprecher und der johanneische Paraklet', *ZNW*, 32, 1933, 121, n. 82 and Cullmann, 'Gesù', 58), then the traditional character of this allusion too would result from the use of the Hebrew text. Paul himself uses the LXX.

⁴⁰⁰Allusion to Isa. 53: Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 147 ff., cf. 123-5. For Palestinian character of the language: ibid. 118-26. Independence of LXX: ὑπέρ is missing in LXX Isa. 53, see n. 434.

⁴⁰¹Allusions to Isa. 53.10-12 (moreover to Heb. text): recent works: Jeremias, 'Lösegeld', 262-4; also *Eucharistic Words*, 125; for Palestinian character of the language, cf. Jeremias 'Lösegeld', 260-2, also *Eucharistic Words*, 123-5.

the voice at the baptism (Mark 1.11 par. = Isa. 42.1) on account of its independence of LXX;⁴⁰² for Luke 2.32 on account of the whole stylistic and linguistic character of the hymn (2.29-32);⁴⁰³ for Matt. 12.18-21 (=Isa. 42.1-4) on account of the mixed character of the text (cf. p. 80); for Luke 22.37 (=Isa. 53.12)⁴⁰⁴ and for Matt. 8.17 (=Isa. 53.4 Heb. text) on account of the connexion with the Heb. text (cf. n. 347). That the numerous general references to scripture which are met with in all three synoptics in connexion with Jesus' words about his passion⁴⁰⁵ are also—probably even primarily—allusions to Isa. 53, is shown by the ancient character⁴⁰⁶ of Mark 9.12 (ἐξουθενήθη cf. ἐξουθενώμενος Isa. 53.3 Ἀ, Σ, Θ = נִבְּחָה), also by the frequent παραδιδόναι formula (see n. 437) and Luke 22.37;⁴⁰⁷ it is clear from I Cor. 15.3 that the greater part of these scriptural allusions is pre-synoptic (cf. p. 88). Quite astonishing is the almost complete disappearance of the LXX in the synoptic texts: while many of them reveal the influence of the Heb. text,⁴⁰⁸ that of the LXX is only visible in the *addendum* Matt. 12.21 (cf. p. 80), Luke 22.37, and perhaps in the passive use of παραδιδόναι.⁴⁰⁹ The result is similar to that in regard to Paul: almost

⁴⁰²Cf. furthermore what was said on pp. 82 f. above about the great age of Mark 1.11 par. and 9.7 par.

⁴⁰⁸The expression in Luke 2.32: φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν is a reminiscence of a servant text which is literally the same in Isa. 42.6 and 49.6 (לְאֹרֹר גּוֹיִם); but the juxtaposition of heathen and Israel (Luke 2.32 a b) shows that Isa. 49.6 is the closer.

⁴⁰⁴Luke 22.37: καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη cf. Isa. 53.12: וְהָיָה עִיִּשְׁתָּי וְאֵת; on the other hand LXX Isa. 53.12: καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη (i.e., with article and ἐν).

⁴⁰⁵Mark 8.31 par. (δεῖ); 9.12 par; 14.21 par. (γέγραπται); 14.49 par. (ἵνα πληρωθῶσιν αἱ γραφαί); Luke 18.31 (τελεσθῇσεται πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν), cf. Mark 10.32 par. (μέλλειν, so also Matt. 17.12, 22; Luke 9.44); peculiar to Matt., 26.54 (πῶς οὖν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ γραφαί . . . δεῖ); peculiar to Luke, 13.33; 17.25; 24.7, 25–27, 44–46 (δεῖ); 9.31 (ἤμελλον πληροῦν); 22.22 (κατὰ τὸ ὀρισμένον); 24.32 (διήνοιγεν . . . τὰς γραφάς); 24.44 (δεῖ πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα); 46 (γέγραπται).

⁴⁰⁸Cf. Otto, 197-9; Michaelis, 8 f. The antiquity of this is clear from the indefinite character of the announcement of the passion and from the observation that the four-part statement in Mark 8.31 is obviously a more recent expansion of the two-part statement of 9.12.

⁴⁰⁷Cf. also Luke 18.31: τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν.

⁴⁰⁸Mark 1.11 par. (cf. 9.7 par.); 9.12; 10.45; 14.24; Matt. 8.17; 12. 18–20; Luke 22.37.

⁴⁰⁹Cf. Isa. 53.12 LXX. Yet the LXX influence is not certain here because this passive is also found in *Targ.* Isa. 53.5: **אתמסר**.

all allusions to the Deut. Isa. 'ebed-Yahweh texts to be found in the first three gospels come from an ancient stock of tradition and formulae.

(c) Stock of tradition and formulae in Acts. In Acts we find 8.32 f. a citation from Isa. 53.7 f. LXX in application to Jesus; it occurs in the fragment of tradition dealing with Philip, 8.5-40,⁴¹⁰ the antiquity of which is especially evident from the way baptism is performed in 8.12 ff., 36, 38 f.⁴¹¹ Also the description of Jesus as παῖς,⁴¹² the occurrence of which is limited to Acts 3 and 4, belongs to a very ancient stratum of the tradition. Further, Jesus is called ὁ δίκαιος three times in Acts (3.14; 7.52; 22.14). Since in all three passages there is an article but no noun, we are here faced by a title, most probably the messianic title 'the righteous one' known from the *Eth. En.* (cf. p. 59), and alluding in the latter to Isa. 53.11. A comparison of Acts 22.13 f. with 9.17 (ὁ δίκαιος/ὁ κύριος) shows that ὁ δίκαιος is the older title of dignity.⁴¹³ Finally, in the discourses of Acts the scriptural allusions in passages about the suffering and death of Jesus are so stereotyped⁴¹⁴ that we must see in them an integral part of the primitive *kerygma*.⁴¹⁵

(d) Ancient formulae in I Peter. In I Peter 2.21-25 are to be found a whole series of free quotations from Isa. 53 LXX (v. 22: Isa. 53.9; v. 24a: Isa. 53.12, cf. 4.11; v. 24b: Isa. 53.5; v. 25: Isa. 53.6), which were used in part as formulae (cf. p. 96); further, in I Peter 3.18 περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν is probably an allusion to Isa. 53.10; δίκαιος to 53.11. Both in I Peter 2.21-25 and in 3.18 the old ὑπέρ formula is met with (2.21; 3.18; cf. p. 95). Both passages use traditional liturgical material, the first a hymn to

⁴¹⁰Joachim Jeremias, 'Untersuchungen zum Quellenproblem der Apostelgeschichte', ZNW, 36, 1937, 215 f.

⁴¹¹8.12 ff.: baptism without reception of the Spirit; 36, 38 f.: baptism without catechumenate.

⁴¹²For the reference of Acts 3.13 f. to Isa. 53 see n. 380.

⁴¹³Jackson-Lake concludes (*Beginnings of Christianity*, I, 4, 1933) from the comparison of Acts 9.17 with 22.14 that ὁ δίκαιος = אֲדֹנָי was perhaps 'the oldest title given to Jesus'.

⁴¹⁴2.23 (τῇ ὀρισμένη βουλῇ καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ, cf. Isa. 53.10); 3.18, cf. 7.52 (προκαταγγέλλειν); 13.27; 26.22 f. (οἱ προφῆται); 3.18, cf. 10.43 (plerophorically πάντες οἱ προφῆται); 4.28 (προορίζειν); 13.29 (πάντα τὰ . . . γεγραμμένα); 17.2 (γραφὰί) 3, (ἔδει).

⁴¹⁵Dibelius (op. cit., see n. 381), 15.

Christ, the second christological formulae.⁴¹⁶ In I Peter 1.11 we find again the general scriptural allusions in connexion with the passion of Christ, familiar to us already from the primitive *kerygma* (cf. p. 88), the synoptics (cf. p. 90) and Acts (cf. p. 91).

(e) Ancient formulae in the Johannine writings. Here again allusions to the 'ebed of Deut. Isa. belong without exception to an old stratum of tradition. We first refer to what has already been discussed: on John 1.29 (ὁ ἄμωδὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἵρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου) and 1.36 see p. 82; on 1.34 (ὁ ἐκλεκτός) see p. 82; on 3.14; 12.34 (δεῖ)⁴¹⁷ see n. 405. On I John 2.1, 29; 3.7 (δικαίος) see above; on 2.2; 4.10 (ἰλασμός) see n. 431; on 3.5 (τὰς ἁμαρτίας αἵρειν) see p. 96; on 3.5 (ἁμαρτία ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν) see p. 96; on ἄρνιον in Rev. see p. 83.⁴¹⁸ Further the expression τιθέναι τὴν ψυχὴν (John 10.11, 15, 17, 18) is to be mentioned; it is reminiscent of Isa. 53.10 (Heb.), 53.12 (Aram.) and as the comparison with Mark 10.45 par. (διδόναι τὴν ψυχὴν) and the ὑπέρ formula (p. 95) show, it is traditional.⁴¹⁹ John 16.32 (σκορπισθῆτε ἕκαστος εἰς τὰ ἴδια), as ἕκαστος εἰς τὰ ἴδια shows, is an allusion to Isa. 53.6 and thus the Palestinian exegesis of אֲתַבְּרַנָּא (=we were scattered), preserved in the *Targ.*, is used.⁴²⁰ Finally, with regard to the quotation John 12.38 (=Isa. 53.1 LXX), what is striking is the fact that the quotation immediately following in v. 40 (=Isa. 6.10) follows a different technique of translation,⁴²¹ even the introductory formulae are different. Since the introduction to the second quotation (John 12.40) reveals a typically Johannine style,⁴²² the first (12.38) may be traditional in form and content.⁴²³ In fact Rom. 10.16 confirms the traditional character of the quotation from Isa. 53.1.

⁴¹⁶Recently: R. Bultmann, 'Bekenntnis- und Liedfragmente im 1. Petrusbrief', *Coniectanea Neotestamentica*, XI, 1947, 1-14.

⁴¹⁷Cullmann, 'Gesù', 55.

⁴¹⁸On ὑψοῦν and δοξάζειν in John see n. 441.

⁴¹⁹Cf. p. 96 below. The ὑπέρ formula also elsewhere in John, see n. 435.

⁴²⁰Cf. Hegermann, 8 f.

⁴²¹John 12.38 follows LXX, against the Hebrew text (as the addition of κύριε shows). 12.40, on the other hand, departs completely from LXX.

⁴²²Διὰ τοῦτο . . . ἔτι cf. Bultmann, *Johannesevangelium* (Meyer), 1941, 346 n. 4; 177 n. 5.

⁴²³Cf. Bultmann (op. cit. in n. 422, 346), who attributes John 12.37 f. to the 'σημεῖα source' used by this evangelist. We have intentionally formulated the matter in more general terms.

The Servant of God in the New Testament

(f) Paul; Matthew; Epistle to the Hebrews. In Paul, apart from the richly extant traditional material (cf. pp. 88 f.), there is to be found only one christologically interpreted 'ebed quotation—Rom. 15.21 (=Isa. 52.15 LXX). But it is characteristic that here the emphasis lies not on the christological interpretation (περὶ αὐτοῦ) but on the missionary task, which Paul finds prophesied in this passage from Isa. The position is quite similar in the synoptic gospels. Apart from the rich traditional material which is to be found in them too (pp. 89 f.) and with the exception of the supplement Matt. 12.21 (p. 80), we may attribute with certainty to one of the synoptic evangelists personally only the general scriptural allusion, Matt. 26.54, which is stamped by the characteristic style of Matt.⁴²⁴ Otherwise there is only a formal allusion (cf. p. 96) to Isa. 53 in the Epistle to the Hebrews (9.28; Isa. 53.12 LXX).

The absence of allusions to the 'ebed in James, II and III John, in Jude, II Peter, and Rev.⁴²⁵ as well as their remarkable scarcity in Paul, Hebrews, and the Gospel of John and, finally, the circumstance that the very numerous references are to be found almost without exception in the stock of old tradition and formulae—all this leads to the same conclusion as in the investigation of the phrase παῖς θεοῦ (p. 85): the christological interpretation of the Deutero-Isaiah servant belongs to the earliest period of the Christian community and at a very early stage became fixed in form. This result is confirmed and made precise by a further observation. A survey of all the Isaiah texts so far mentioned yields the conclusion that of the 'ebed texts of Deut. Isa. only Isa. 42.1-4, 6; 49.6; and Isa. 52.13-53.12 were interpreted messianically in the N.T. But those are the precise texts which Palestinian Judaism—as opposed to Hellenistic (pp. 52 f.)—interpreted messianically (pp. 77 f.). Hence it must be concluded that the christological

⁴²⁴Πῶς in direct rhetorical question with following subjunctive in the N.T. only in Matt. (23.33; 26.54); πληροφορῶν (of scripture) is a favourite word of Matt. (twelve times, Mark once, Luke twice, John eight times; cf. Klostermann, *Matt.* [HNT, II, 1] on 1.22). On the other hand Matt. 8.17 can hardly be attributed with Schlatter, *Matt.* to the evangelist himself, because here Isa. 53.4 is translated from the Heb. text whereas Matt. in his own scriptural quotations follows LXX.

⁴²⁵Rev. 1.16; 19.15 (sword out of the mouth) is not to be counted among the allusions to the 'ebed; for here the allusion is to Isa. 11.4. Isa. 49.2 is only a secondary combination with Ps. 149.6, see Schlatter, 37.

interpretation of these passages flows from the Palestinian pre-Hellenistic stage of the early church.⁴²⁶

(ii) *The historical setting in the life of the early church.* The result thus reached finds further confirmation and gains concrete form when we inquire into the historical setting of the christological interpretation of the 'ebed in the early church.

(a) The fundamental setting of this exegesis in the early church—if we set aside for the moment the transmission of the words of Jesus (see pp. 98 f. below)—is proof from scripture. The situation after the death of Jesus compelled the Christian community from the very first to supply a demonstration from scripture that the death on the cross was divinely ordained and possessed vicarious efficacy. That scripture proof for the death on the cross belonged to the most primitive *kerygma* and that it was carried out with the help of Isa. 53, is shown conclusively by I Cor. 15.3 (cf. p. 88). Its importance may be measured by the great number of instances and the variety of the formulae (cf. nn. 405, 414). Whereas in the majority of cases Isa. 53 is presumed to be so well known that a general reference to scripture suffices,⁴²⁷ Acts 8.32 f. adduces a literal quotation of Isa. 53.7b–8a (LXX). What is more, the primitive (pp. 90, 80) tradition finds in Isa. 42 and 53 a prophecy of individual traits in the life of Jesus (Matt. 8.17=Isa. 53.4 Heb. text: healings of the sick; Matt. 12.18–20=Isa. 42.1–3 Heb. text: the avoidance of public notice). In Isa. 53.1 is seen a prophecy of the unbelief of Israel, in which connexion the independent agreement of Paul and the fourth gospel is to be noted (Rom. 10.16; John 12.38, see p. 92). Finally, in Isa. 52.15 Paul found prophesied his special missionary task of preaching Christ where as yet no one had heard of him (Rom. 15.21).⁴²⁸

(b) Thus the 'ebed of Deutero-Isaiah influenced very strongly the development of the christology of the early church. This is shown by the great number of christological predicates and formal turns of phrase which are connected with Isa. 42.1 ff. and 52.13 ff.

The following christological predicates should be men-

⁴²⁶Cullmann, 'Gesù', 56; the 'ebed-Yahweh christology is '*probabilmente la più antica cristologia*'.

⁴²⁷Recently, J. Dupont, *Les problèmes du Livre des Actes d'après les travaux récents*, 1950, 110.

⁴²⁸Cf. further the similar reference to Isa. 42.7, 16 in Acts 26.18.

tioned: ὁ παῖς (of God) (pp. 80 f.) and perhaps connected with it: ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (p. 81), ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (p. 82), and τὸ ἀρνίον (p. 83); further ὁ ἐκλεκτός (John 1.34, see n. 261), ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος (Luke 9.35) with its alternative ὁ ἀγαπητός;⁴²⁹ finally, ὁ δίκαιος, although occurring not seldom in late Jewish literature (cf. *TWNT*, II, 188, 23 ff.) as a messianic attribute, should, as a predicate of Jesus, be connected in the first instance with Isa. 53.11 (see pp. 91 f.).⁴³⁰ Further, the description of Jesus as ἱλασμός περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (I John 2.2; 4.10)⁴³¹ rests presumably upon Isa. 53.10; his description as intercessor (I John 2.1: παράκλητος; Rom. 8.34 and Heb. 7.25: ἐντυγχάνειν) corresponds to Isa. 53.12;⁴³² on φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν, see n. 403.

Among christological formulae connected with Isa. 53 the ὑπέρ formula stands first by reason of its numerical preponderance. Its origin in Isa. 53 is suggested by the link with the word πολλοί (ὑπὲρ πολλῶν Mark 14.24; περὶ πολλῶν Matt. 26.28; ἀντὶ πολλῶν Mark 10.45; Matt 20.28) which is a veritable key-word in Isa. 53, and by I Cor. 15.3 (κατὰ τὰς γραφάς). The great age of the ὑπέρ formula is shown by its use in the primitive *kerygma* (I Cor. 15.3) and in the eucharistic words (Mark 14.24 par.),⁴³³ also by its independence of the LXX⁴³⁴ and by the marked variation in the prepositions⁴³⁵ arising from the

⁴²⁹Mark 1.11 par.; 9.7 par.; Matt. 12.18; Luke 9.35 (v.l.); II Peter 1.17. Cf. Eph. 1.6: ὁ ἡγαπημένος.

⁴³⁰H. Dechent, 'Der "Gerechte"—eine Bezeichnung für den Messias', *TSK*, 100, 1927/8, 439-43.

⁴³¹ἱλασμός = $\square\psi\chi$ Isa. 53.10 (?); on περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν cf. Isa. 53.4-6; Wolff, 104 f.

⁴³²Mowinckel (op. cit. in n. 399), 120 f. It should be noticed that Jesus, in I John 2.1, is called δίκαιος (cf. Isa. 53.11).

⁴³³With regard to the semitic linguistic character of the two traditional sections see Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 118 ff. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (I Cor. 15.3) is recognizable as pre-Pauline by the un-Pauline plural (ibid., 129 f.).

⁴³⁴ὑπέρ is lacking in the LXX of Isa. 52.13-53.12; there διὰ with accusative (53.5 [twice], 12) and περὶ with genitive (53.4, cf. 10) are used.

⁴³⁵The following prepositions alternate in the statements about the death of Jesus: ἀντὶ: Mark 10.45; Matt. 20.28; ὑπέρ with genitive: Mark 14.24; Luke 22.19, 20; John 6.51; 10.11, 15; 11.51 f.; 15.13; 17.19; 18.14; Rom. 5.6, 8; 8.32; 14.15; I Cor. 1.13; 5.7 (v.l.); 11.24; 15.3; II Cor. 5.14, 15 (twice), 21; Gal. 1.4; 2.20; 3.13; Eph. 5.2, 25; I Thess. 5.10 (v.l.); I Tim. 2.6; Titus 2.14; Heb. 2.9; 10.12 (cf. 26); I Peter 2.21; 3.18; 4.1 (v.l.); I John 3.16; περὶ with genitive: Matt. 26.28; Rom. 8.3; I Cor. 1.13 (v.l.); Gal. 1.4 (v.l.); I Thess. 5.10; I Peter 3.18; I John 2.2; 4.10; διὰ with accusative: Rom. 3.25; 4.25; I Cor. 8.11. It is not a matter of chance that in many of these passages the use of formal data can be recognized also by other indications.

varied translations of the semitic text which lay behind it.⁴³⁶ Also the formal use of παραδιδόναι in the passive (replacing the divine name) for the purpose of indicating the passion of Jesus⁴³⁷ is probably connected with Isa. 53;⁴³⁸ δίδοναι τὴν ψυχὴν (Mark 10.45; Matt. 20.28), τιθέναι τὴν ψυχὴν (John 10.11, 15, 17, 18), δίδοναι ἑαυτὸν (Gal. 1.4; I Tim. 2.6; Titus 2.14), παραδιδόναι ἑαυτὸν (Gal. 2.20; Eph. 5.2, 25) are most probably mere translation variants of שֵׁם נִפְשׁוֹ (Isa. 53.10 Heb. text) and מָסַר נַפְשִׁיה (53.12 Aram.). Frequently we find the (παρα)-διδόναι formula linked with the ὑπέρ formula and its variants.⁴³⁹ Further, the expression taken from Isa. 53.12 αἴρειν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν (John 1.29; plural I John 3.5) or ἀναφέρειν ἁμαρτίας (Heb. 9.28; I Peter 2.24),⁴⁴⁰ probably also the phrase ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν (I Peter 2.22) or ἁμαρτία ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν (I John 3.5),⁴⁴¹ echoing Isa. 53.9b, are of a formal character. The variety of the attempts to render in Greek the Hebrew שָׁמַר (Isa. 53.10) shows the early and strong influence of Isa. 53 upon the christology of the early church.⁴⁴²

(c) Further, liturgy is to be taken into account. In the celebration of the eucharist, the πολλῶν of the liturgical words of the last supper (Mark 14.24 par.) referred to the servant, and the old liturgical prayer formula διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου lives on with

⁴³⁶Specially clear examples of variants in the translation are furnished by Mark 10.45 par. (ἀντὶ πολλῶν) compared with I Tim. 2.6 (ὑπὲρ πάντων); Mark 14.24 (ὑπὲρ πολλῶν) compared with Matt. 26.28 (περὶ πολλῶν).

⁴³⁷Mark 9.31 par.; 10.33 par.; 14.41 par.; Matt. 26.2; Luke 24.7; Rom. 4.25; I Cor. 11.23.

⁴³⁸Isa. 53.5 Targ.: מָסַרְתָּ; 53.12 LXX: παρεδόθη (twice). Especially clear is the connexion of the N.T. statements with Isa. 53.12 LXX in those texts where the passive παραδιδόναι is used absolutely: Rom. 4.25; I Cor. 11.23.

⁴³⁹Luke 22.19; Rom. 4.25; 8.32; Gal. 1.4; 2.20; Eph. 5.2, 25; I Tim. 2.6; Titus 2.14.

⁴⁴⁰John 1.29; I John 3.5 follow Isa. 53.12 (Heb. text), on the other hand Heb. 9.28; I Peter 2.24 use Isa. 53.12 (LXX).

⁴⁴¹Cf. further τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν II Cor. 5.21. It cannot be said with certainty whether the formal use of the verbs ὑποῦν, Acts 2.33; 5.31; John 3.14; 8.28; 12.32, 34 and δοξάζειν, Acts 3.13; John 7.39; 12.16, 23; 17.1, 5 and elsewhere, is connected with Isa. 52.13 LXX (thus O. Michel, 'Probleme der neutestamentlichen Theologie', DT, 9, 1942, 29; Wolff, 85; Cerfaux, 123, n. 1).

⁴⁴²Λύτρον: Mark 10.45; Matt. 20.28 (Dalman op. cit. in n. 304, 110; cf. Wolff, 61; Jeremias, 'Lösegeld', 262), changed to ἀντίλυτρον in I Tim. 2.6; περὶ ἁμαρτίας (=LXX Isa. 53.10) Rom. 8.3; probably also ἱλαστήριον, see n. 399; for ἱλασμός see n. 431.

great persistence in the eucharistic prayer and in the doxology (pp. 83 f.).⁴⁴³ From pre-Pauline times (see n. 398 on Phil. 2.6-11) Jesus is also extolled in psalms as the servant of God (Phil. 2.6-11; I Peter 2.22-25; Luke 2.32, cf. Rom. 4.25).

The connexion of Phil. 2.6-11 with Isa. 53⁴⁴⁴ becomes plain as soon as it is recognized that not the LXX but the Heb. text of Isa. 53 is used; even the use of δοῦλος (instead of παῖς) loses its strangeness (see n. 444) when it is recognized that we have here a direct rendering of the Hebrew עֶבֶד (Isa. 52.13). The decisive proof of the connexion of Phil. 2.6-11 with Isa. 53 lies in the fact that the expression ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν (Phil. 2.7), attested nowhere else in the Greek and grammatically extremely harsh, is an exact rendering of נָפְשׁוֹ . . . הִעָרָה (Isa. 53.12).⁴⁴⁵ Apart from other verbal echoes,⁴⁴⁶ allusion to Isa. 53 is to be seen further in the antithesis of extreme meekness and exaltation, in the willingness to be humbled and in the mention of obedience and of death.⁴⁴⁷ The hymn to Christ (I Peter 2.22-25)

⁴⁴³Cf. further the eucharistic epiclesis of the church order of Hippolytus (v. Harnack, 227 f., H. Lietzmann, *Messe and Herrenmahl*, 1926, 80 f.) and the eucharistic liturgy of a Berlin papyrus not yet edited, in which it is said 'may the eucharist serve εἰς φάρμακον ἀθανασίας . . . διὰ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου σου παιδός', H. Lietzmann, *ibid.*, 257 n. 2.

⁴⁴⁴Affirmed by, among others, Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus*, 32 f., 35 ff., 40-42, and H. Windisch in the discussion on the point, *TLZ*, 54, 1929, 247; Kittel, *TWNT*, I, 225 34-37; Euler, 45, 47 f., 101, 103, 118; H. Wheeler Robinson (loc. cit. in n. 445); Stählin, *TWNT*, III, 354; Cerfaux, 117-24; G. S. Duncan, *Jesus, Son of Man*, 1947, 193 f.; W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 274; Cullmann, 'Gesù', 58; Schelkle, 95. The contesting of this connexion of Phil. 2.6 ff. with Isa. 53, in K. H. Rengstorff *TWNT*, II, 281 f. and Gewiess, 56 n. 149, turns upon the word δοῦλος, Phil. 2.7, in place of which παῖς would be expected. The connexion has been most recently disputed by E. Käsemann, 'Kritische Analyse von Phil. 2.5-11', *ZTK*, 47, 1950, 313-60.

⁴⁴⁵Recognized by H. Wheeler Robinson, 'The Cross of the Servant', in *The Cross in the Old Testament*, 1955, p. 57, 104-105. הִעָרָה means 'to expose', 'to pour out', 'empty'; κενοῦν 'to drain to the dregs', 'to pour out generously'. The use of Isa. 53.12 shows that the expression implies the surrender of life, not the *kenosis* of the incarnation.

⁴⁴⁶With μορφή (Phil. 2.6, 7) is perhaps to be compared the rendering of תָּאֵר (Isa. 52.14) with μορφή by 'A (see *TWNT*, IV, 759 n. 53); with ἐταπεινώσεν ἐαυτὸν (Phil. 2.8), cf. the rendering of מַעֲנָה (Isa. 53.4) by ταπεινοῦν in 'A, Σ, and Θ; regarding ὑπήκοος (Phil. 2.8) cf. the rendering of נִצְנָה (Isa. 53.7) with ὑπήκουσεν by Σ (according to Eus.); with δού (Phil. 2.9) cf. לָכֵן (Isa. 53.12); with ὑπερύψωσεν (Phil. 2.9) cf. יָרוּם וְנִשָּׂא וְנִבְהָ מְאֹד (Isa. 52.13).

⁴⁴⁷Cf. further Cerfaux, 117-24.

The Servant of God

(p. 91) is simply a short summary of Isa. 53; it shows how Jesus is regarded wholly from the point of view of the suffering servant. The song of praise of Simeon (Luke 2.29-32) takes up Isa. 49.6 (cf. n. 403) and refers this servant passage to Jesus.

(d) Finally, Isa. 53 plays a great part in primitive Christian paraenesis and the literature of martyrdom. Jesus as the suffering servant of God is put forward, as the context shows, as the pattern of service (Mark 10.45 par.), of selflessness (Phil. 2.5-11), of willing innocent suffering (I Peter 2.21-25) and of humility (I Cl. 16.1-17). In particular, the martyr is the perfect imitator of the servant (Ignatius, *Eph.* 10.3; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* V 1.23; V 2.2).⁴⁴⁸

The result is that there is no area of the primitive Christian life of faith which was not stamped and moulded by the 'ebed christology. Its impact, to be observed equally throughout all areas in formal phrases, enables us to appreciate the antiquity and the deep roots of the 'ebed christology and explains the infrequency of express quotations (pp. 88, 94). But if the application of the title παῖς θεοῦ to Jesus, as also the christological interpretation of Isa. 42.1 ff.; 49.6, and especially 52.13 ff. belongs to the oldest Palestinian stage of the early church, the question then arises:

3. CAN JESUS HAVE KNOWN HIMSELF TO BE THE SERVANT OF GOD?

The gospels say so. In the following places they make Jesus apply to himself the Deut. Isa. servant passages

Mark 2.20 par.: ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν, cf. Isa. 53.8: חָקָץ(?)⁴⁴⁹. Mark 9.12: ἐξουθενήθη, cf. Isa. 53.3: נִבְזָה ('A, Σ, Θ ἐξουθενωμένος). Luke 11.22: καὶ τὰ σκῦλα αὐτοῦ διαδίδωσιν, cf. Isa. 53.12 קָלַף לָשׁ (LXX μεριεῖ σκύλα)(?)⁴⁵⁰. Mark 10.45 par. Matt. 20.28: διακονῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν, cf. Isa. 53.10 נָפְשׁוֹ שֶׁחָסַדָּם יִשְׁמַח; 53.11, 12: יָבִיחַ; διακονῆσαι is an

⁴⁴⁸Cerfaux, 128 f. With regard to the wide use of Isa. 53 in post-N.T. literature, especially in Justin, see Wolff, 108-42, further *TWNT*, III, 553 ff.

⁴⁴⁹An allusion is accepted among others by Lohmeyer, *Markus*², 1950, ad loc.; Schelkle, 62; Buber, 72.

⁴⁵⁰*TWNT*, III, 403, 25 ff. Yet it remains possible that in Luke 11.21 f. par. there is present an image which is independent of the O.T. (thus W. Bieder, *Die Vorstellung von der Höllenfahrt Jesu Christi*, 1949, 35).

allusion to the servant. λύτρον must be a free translation of שָׂוִי (in the common⁴⁵¹ meaning of 'compensation').⁴⁵² Mark 14.8: Jesus expects to be buried as a criminal, without anointing, cf. Isa. 53.9. Mark 14.24 par.: ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν, cf. Isa. 53.12: רַבִּים . . . הִעָרָה.⁴⁵³ Luke 22.37: δεῖ τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἐμοί, τό· καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη = Isa. 53.12: נִמְנָה פְּשָׁעִים תִּתָּן. Mark 14.61 par. Matt. 26.63: Jesus is silent before the Sanhedrin; Mark 15.5 par. Matt. 27.12 and 14; John 19.9: before Pilate; Luke 23.9: before Herod Antipas, cf. Isa. 53.7 נִמְלֶכֶה.⁴⁵⁴ Luke 23.34: Jesus makes intercession, cf. Isa. 53.12.⁴⁵⁵ John 10.11, 15, 17f.: τιθέναι τὴν ψυχὴν, cf. Isa. 53.10: שָׁוִי . . . שִׁמְהָ. P. Oxy. I, 1 recto 19 f.: πονεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου, cf. Isa. 53.11: שָׁוִי מַמְלָה and the LXX: ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ.⁴⁵⁶ Finally must be mentioned the many references to scripture which Jesus makes (see n. 405); concerning their connexion with Isa. 53 see p. 90.

Many of these passages are wholly or in part the work of the church (on Mark 2.20 see *TWNT*, IV, 1096, 19 ff.);⁴⁵⁷ with regard to the silence of Jesus before his judges (Sanhedrin, Pilate, Herod) what strikes one is the fact that this detail is repeatedly reported (see above);⁴⁵⁸ the predictions of the passion, especially, reveal, on comparison, a secondary tendency to assume concrete features and to become assimilated to the actual

⁴⁵¹Cf. K. G. Kuhn 'Die Abendmahlsworte', *TLZ*, 75, 1950, 406 n. 2.

⁴⁵²For the reference to Isa. 53 cf. Dalman (op. cit. in n. 304), 110; Wolff, 61; Jeremias, 'Lösegeld', 262.

⁴⁵³Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 148 ff. For Jesus' own comparison of himself with the paschal lamb (ibid. 144) cf. Isa. 53.7.

⁴⁵⁴H. W. Surkau, *Martyrien in jüdischer und frühchristlicher Zeit*, 1938, 87; J. Schniewind, *Mark* (N. T. Deutsch) on 14.61. On Mark 14.62 par. Matt. 26.64 ὁψεσθε cf. further Isa. 52.15.

⁴⁵⁵This intercession is for unwitting sinners, cf. Isa. 53.10: שָׁוִי is the sacrifice for unwitting sins. (Luke 23.34a is missing in one part of the manuscripts and might well be a very old addition resting upon authoritative tradition.)

⁴⁵⁶Cf. A. v. Harnack, *Über die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu*, 1897, 13; J. Jeremias, *Unbekannte Jesusworte*, 1951, 70.

⁴⁵⁷Yet in view of the widespread idea of the snatching away of the Messiah (*Eth. En.* 70.1; Rev. 12.5; II Esd. [IV Ezra] 13.1-13, 25-52 compared with 12.31 f., 14.9 [S.-B., II, 334; Dalman, *WJ*, I, 397, German ed.]; *Syr. Bar.* 30.1; *J. Bar.* 2.4 [5a 25 f.] and elsewhere) we shall have to reckon with the possibility that Mark 2.20 goes back to 'a genuine tradition which, however, it is no longer possible to reconstruct' (Buber, 72).

⁴⁵⁸Cf. Wolff, 76 n.316 (following J. Schniewind). On the other hand the historicity is supported by the consideration that we should expect a scriptural reference (to Isa. 53.7) if the silence of Jesus was merely drawn from this passage.

The Servant of God

course of history.⁴⁵⁹ Some observations on the texts forbid us, however, to declare spurious the whole of the references of Jesus himself to the 'ebed.⁴⁶⁰

The assertion of the Gospels that Jesus reckoned with the possibility of a violent death has the strongest historical probability behind it. First, the whole situation compelled him to recognize it. The reproach of βλασφημία (Mark 2.7 par.; John 10.33-36, cf. 5.18) meant the threat of stoning⁴⁶¹ with subsequent hanging of the body on the cross.⁴⁶² The same punishment (without subsequent hanging) was incurred by Sabbath-breaking (*Sanh.* 7.4, 8); of the two sabbath stories in Mark 2.23-3.7a the first reports the warning,⁴⁶³ as a result of which any repetition of the transgression would be proved to be intentional and punishable; in 3.1 ff. therefore, Jesus is risking his life (cf. 3.6) and has to save himself by flight (3.7a: ἀνεχώρησεν).⁴⁶⁴ The reports that Jesus repeatedly stood in immediate danger of stoning,⁴⁶⁵ in view of Mark 2.23-3.7a, are wholly within the sphere of the possible. Second, the historical facts must have compelled Jesus to reckon with the possibility of death by violence. Jesus, in words which represent particularly authentic

⁴⁵⁹ Thus Mark has μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας (8.31; 9.31; 10.34) while Matthew and Luke in the par. texts have changed, completely independently of each other (Schelkle, 66) and *ex eventu*, to τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ (or τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ). Or compare Mark 10.34, ἀποκτενοῦσιν, with the par. Matt. 20.19, σταυρῶσαι. Especially the so-called third prediction of the passion (more correctly, the third version of the prediction) in Mark 10.33 f. par. might well have been touched up *ex eventu* (as a comparison with the first two versions of 8.31 and 9.31 leads one to suppose) yet at the same time it should not be overlooked that Mark 10.33 f. contains no feature which could not normally be expected in capital proceedings against Jesus when we take into account the state of the law, and execution customs. This constitutes a warning to be cautious with a judgement of 'ex eventu'.

⁴⁶⁰ Thus Luke 11.22 is older than the dogmatics of the early church because the victory of Jesus over the satanic, demonic powers is associated not with the cross and resurrection but with the temptation of Jesus, cf. *TWNT*, III, 404, 28 ff.; but the connexion of the text with Isa. 53 is not certain (see n. 450).

⁴⁶¹ *Sanh.* 7.4; *Siphre Lev.* 24.11 ff. (53a 31 ff. Venice ed., 1545); John 10.31, 33.

⁴⁶² *Sanh.* 6.4. 'All who are stoned are hanged'—words of R. Eli'ezer (b. Hyrcanos, circa A.D.90, the representative of the older tradition). According to the *halaka* (*ibid.*) this applies only to the blasphemer and idolator.

⁴⁶³ With regard to the warning in late Jewish law and in the N.T. cf. K. Bornhäuser, 'Zur Perikope vom Bruch des Sabbats', *NKZ*, 33, 1922, 325-34; J. Jeremias (op. cit. in n. 410), 208-13. Οὐκ ἔξεστιν Mark 2.24 is a formula of warning, cf. John 5.10.

⁴⁶⁴ Mark 3.7a has a par. in Matt. 15.21 and might originally have been the end of the pericope, Mark 3.1-6.

⁴⁶⁵ Luke 4.29; John 8.59; 10.31-36; 11.8; *Unknown Gospel* (Brit. Mus.) fragment I recto line 23 f., cf. Matt. 23.37 par.

The Servant of God in the New Testament

tradition,⁴⁶⁶ classed himself among the prophets,⁴⁶⁷ and expected the fate of the prophets, viz., martyrdom (Luke 13.33; Matt. 23.34-36 par., 37 par.).⁴⁶⁸ We know from the N.T.⁴⁶⁹ and Jewish legend⁴⁷⁰ about the prophets to what a large extent, even by the time of Jesus, martyrdom was considered to be an integral part of the prophetic calling.⁴⁷¹ Jesus himself found in sacred history an uninterrupted succession of martyrdoms of the just from Abel to Zachariah (Matt. 23.35 par.). In particular, recent history, the fate of John the Baptist, the last prophet, foreshadowed to Jesus his own destiny (Mark 9.12 f. par.; cf. 6.16; Luke 13.31). A third observation may be added as an indication of the historical value of the suggestions that Jesus reckoned with the possibility of a violent death. Jesus' predictions of his passion contain a number of features which did not materialize. Jesus at times seems to have thought it possible, presumably on the basis of concrete experiences (cf. p. 100), that he would be stoned (Matt. 23.37 par.) by the Jews as a false prophet (Luke 13.33). This expectation, like that of burial as a criminal (Mark 14.8 par.), was not fulfilled. The same applies to the expectation that some of his disciples would have to share his fate (Mark 10.32-40 par., Luke 14.25-33); curiously enough the Jewish authorities were content with the execution of Jesus and left the disciples undisturbed.⁴⁷²

But if Jesus reckoned with his violent death, then he must have had thoughts about the meaning of that death, especially in view

⁴⁶⁶R. Bernheimer, 'Vitae Prophetarum', *JAOS*, 55, 1935, 202 f.

⁴⁶⁷Likewise Jesus places his disciples among the prophets: Matt. 5.12 par.

⁴⁶⁸The authenticity of these words is suggested above all by the fact that the early Church only occasionally placed Jesus among the prophets.

⁴⁶⁹References in N.T. to the killing of prophets: Matt. 21.35 f.; 22.6; 23.30-32 par., 34-36 par., 37 par.; Luke 13.33; Acts 7.51 f.; Rom. 11.3; 1 Thess. 2.15; Heb. 11.35-38; Rev. 11.7; 16.6; 18.24; cf. Jas. 5.10.

⁴⁷⁰*Prophetarum vitae fabulosae*, ed. Th. Schermann, 1907; *The Lives of the Prophets*, ed. C. C. Torrey, JBL Monograph Series I, 1946; M. R. James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament*, Translation of Early Documents, Series I, 1920; Josephus, *Ant.*, 10.38; Origen, *Commentariorum series* 28, on Matt. 23. 37-39 (G.C.S. 38, 50) and Katenen-Fr. 457 II on Matt. 23.29-35 (G.C.S. 41, 190); Tertullian, *Scorpiae* 8 (Migne, PL 2, 137 B); *Asc. Isa.* 2.16, 5.1-14; *Paral. Jer.* 9.21-32; S.-B., I, 940-2, III, 747; H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, II, 1926, 855-74.

⁴⁷¹A. Schlatter, 'Der Märtyrer in den Anfängen der Kirche', *BFT*, 19.3, 1915, 18-22; O. Michel, 'Prophet und Märtyrer', *BFT*, 37.2, 1932; H. J. Schoeps, *Die jüdischen Prophetenmorde* (Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses, 2), 1943; H. A. Fischel, 'Prophet and Martyr', *JQR*, 37, 1947, 265-80, 363-86, especially 279, 382.

⁴⁷²C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, 1946, 59. The Good Friday despair of the disciples is thus no compelling objection to the historicity of the predictions of

The Servant of God

of the extraordinary significance which the doctrine of the expiatory efficacy of death possessed for late Judaism.⁴⁷³ The assertion of the sources that Jesus found in Isa. 53 the clue to the necessity and meaning of his passion can also claim strong historical probability. In general terms it may be pointed out here that Isa. 40 ff. possessed great significance for Jesus' consciousness of exalted mission (cf. Matt. 11.5 par.; 5.3 f.; Mark 11.17; Luke 4.18 ff. See *TWNT*, II, 706, 10 ff.; 715, 8 ff.). The allusions to Isa. 53 thus fit into the framework of his preaching and use of scripture. If now we examine the passages quoted on pp. 98 f. in detail, four observations speak for their ancient date. First, we are here in the presence of pre-Hellenistic tradition; for none of these texts, except Luke 22.37 (but see n. 404), shows the unequivocal influence of the LXX, which on the contrary is impossible for Mark 9.12; 10.45; 14.8, 24; Luke 23.34; John 10.11, 15, 17 f. Mark 9.31 gives an Aramaic word-play: *בֵּר נִשָּׂא/בְּנֵי נִשָּׂא*. The religious use of *λύτρον* (Mark 10.45 par.) is Jewish.⁴⁷⁴ Luke 23.34 also presupposes Palestinian circumstances; for late Judaism the expiatory vow of the criminal is a formal part of the execution ('May my death expiate all my sins'),⁴⁷⁵ which Jesus, like the Maccabaeans⁴⁷⁶ martyrs, reverses, but so as to transfer the expiatory virtue of his death to his tormentors (see n. 455). Second, several of the predictions of the passion are couched in such general terms that they could not well have been shaped *ex eventu*: Mark 9.12b (cf. Isa. 53.3 and see n. 406); Luke 9.44; 12.50⁴⁷⁷; 13.32 f.; 17.25. Also the absence of any mention of Easter in these passages

the passion, because it was essentially rooted in the fact that the course of events contradicted the expectations which the disciples entertained as a result of the preaching of Jesus as a whole. They clearly expected indeed suffering and martyrdom both for Jesus and themselves (Mark 10.39 par.; 14.29 par.), but immediately following it a 'corporate triumph' (Luke 24.21; Acts 1.6, cf. T. W. Manson, 'The New Testament Basis of the Doctrine of the Church', *JEH*, I, 1950, 6, and n. 3). As regards the lack of understanding on the part of the disciples, see n. 331.

⁴⁷³Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 151 f.

⁴⁷⁴Jeremias, 'Lösegeld', 249-58. In contrast to the Palestinian character of the language in Mark 10.42-45, the par. Luke 22.24-27 shows strong Hellenistic influence, *ibid.* 258-62.

⁴⁷⁵*Sanh.* 6.2; *T. Sanh.* 9.5; *B. Sanh.* 44b; *J. Sanh.* 6.4 (23b 47), cf. A. Büchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement*, 1928, 170, n. 4; K. G. Kuhn, 'Rom. 6.7', *ZNW*, 30, 1931, 306.

⁴⁷⁶IV Mac. 6.29; II Mac. 7.37 f.

⁴⁷⁷Buber, 77 n. 2; 'it is impossible to imagine how the words could have originated in the early church'.

(also in Mark 14.8; Luke 22.37) is an argument against their invention by the early church.⁴⁷⁸ Third, some of the words are so firmly anchored in the context that they cannot be detached from it. This is particularly true of the *logion* Mark 8.31, which is indissolubly bound up with the sharp rebuke to Peter (8.33); this description of Peter as Satan cannot have been subsequently added to the discourse of Jesus. The expectation, too, of a criminal's burial without anointing (Mark 14.8) is firmly rooted in the context. This becomes plain as soon as we recognize that in the pericope Mark 14.3-9 almsgiving (צדקה 14.5) and the work of love (מִמְלִיט הַחַסְדִּים 14.6)⁴⁷⁹ are contrasted with each other, and that only the information given in 14.8 as to which of the offices of love the anointing woman has unconsciously performed for Jesus (viz., the burial of the dead) provides us with the clue to the whole.⁴⁸⁰ Similarly fixed to the context is Luke 22.37. This word, which is an allusion to the Heb. text of Isa. 53.12 (see n. 404), and makes no reference to Easter (see p. 102), stands between the two quite obviously ancient words about the swords (vv. 36, 38) of which the first, v. 36, announces the imminent outbreak of the eschatological time of distress and to this extent is an unfulfilled prophecy. The reason given in v. 37 for this announcement—that, because Jesus will be driven out of the community of Israel as an *ἄνομος*, so his disciples, too, will be treated as *ἄνομοι* and refused food and their lives threatened⁴⁸¹—is indispensable to the whole context. Mark 9.12b is also to be mentioned here. If, as is probable (cf. *TWNT*, II, 939, 22 ff.), the disciples in Mark 9.11 cite the Elijah prophecy (Mal. 4.5 f.) as an objection to Jesus' prediction of his passion—the restoration of all things which Elijah is to accomplish three days before the end makes messianic suffering superfluous—then the word about suffering (Mark 9.12b) is here, too, essential to the context. Fourth, it is of decisive importance that at one point of the oldest and most reliable stratum of tradi-

⁴⁷⁸Further, Buber, 71, on Luke 17.25: genuineness is suggested by the fact that the manner of the link between the hidden present and the future revelation remains uncertain. This point of view has importance also for Luke 13.32 (τελειοῦμαι).

⁴⁷⁹Concerning alms and the works of love cf. S.-B., IV, 536-610.

⁴⁸⁰Jeremias, 'Die Salbungsgeschichte Marc. 14.3-9', *ZNW*, 35, 1936, 75-82. The genuineness of Mark 14.8 is supported also by the fact that we have here an unfulfilled prophecy (cf. p. 99). Jesus was spared a dishonourable burial (Mark 15.45 f., John 19.38 ff.).

⁴⁸¹Schlatter, *Das Evangelium des Lukas aus seinen Quellen erklärt*, 1931, 428.

tion we come upon Isa. 53: in the eucharistic words of Jesus (Mark 14.24 par.: ὑπὲρ πολλῶν). Paul received his version of the eucharistic words which he passed on to the Corinthians (I Cor. 11.23-25) in A.D. 49-50, in a Hellenistic environment,⁴⁸² probably *circa* 40 in Antioch.⁴⁸³ Since the Marcan version proves itself older than the Pauline on account, among other things, of its numerous semitic features,⁴⁸⁴ it takes us back to the thirties. Here, therefore, we have before us the bedrock of the tradition.

The fact that the number of texts in which Jesus relates Isa. 53 to himself is not great, and that they are altogether absent in the *logia* peculiar to Matt. and Luke, must be connected with the fact that Jesus only allowed himself to be known as the servant in his esoteric and not in his public preaching.⁴⁸⁵ Only to his disciples did he unveil the mystery that he viewed the fulfilment of Isa. 53 as his God-appointed task,⁴⁸⁶ and to them alone did he interpret his death as a vicarious dying for the countless multitude (see article πολλύς, *TWNT*, s.v.) of those who lay under the judgement of God (Mark 10.45; 14.24). Because he goes to his death innocently, voluntarily, patiently and in accordance with the will of God (Isa. 53) his dying has boundless atoning virtue. It is life flowing from God, and life in God⁴⁸⁷ which he outpours.

⁴⁸²J. Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 127.

⁴⁸³Antioch is suggested by the relationship between the Pauline and the Lucan representation (Luke 22.19b-20a agrees almost literally with I Cor. 11.24 f.; see J. Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 131).

⁴⁸⁴For semitisms in Mark 14.22-25 see J. Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 118 ff. In addition some factual considerations, *ibid.* 106 ff. As regards the ὑπὲρ phrase in particular, the Pauline ὑπὲρ ἑμῶν (I Cor. 11.24) is certainly secondary as compared with the ὑπὲρ πολλῶν of Mark 14.24; for Paul avoids the πολλῶν semitism (see article πολλύς, *TWNT*, s.v.), and under the influence of liturgical custom the theological exegesis (in the third person) has become a distribution formula (in the second person). Besides this the Pauline association of the ὑπὲρ phrase with the bread is shown to be secondary as opposed to the Marcan association with the cup on account of the linguistically very strange, and in Aramaic impossible (Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua*, 144 f.) expression τὸ ὑπὲρ ἑμῶν (I Cor. 11.24). This strangeness suggests the conclusion that the ὑπὲρ phrase, with omission of the participle ἐκχυνόμενον (cf. also John 6.51c), became associated with the bread (for conjectures about the reasons see J. Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 110, 128).

⁴⁸⁵Most recently Buber, 74.

⁴⁸⁶Most recently Buber, 73 f. 'If we see the connexion rightly, Jesus, under the influence of Deut. Isa. conception, understood himself as the bearer of the messianic hiddenness.' *Ibid.* 77: 'The picture of the servant, modified by apocalyptic' (through the combination with the son of man) has entered 'into the actual life history of Jesus'.

⁴⁸⁷J. Schniewind, *Mark* (N.T. Deutsch) on 10.45.

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INDEX OF BIBLICAL REFERENCES

References to the Targum are included. References are according to the Revised Version unless otherwise stated, even when the reference in the text is to the LXX.

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Genesis</i>		<i>Exodus</i>	
4.2	9 n. 4	14.31	19, 21 n. 46, 36
15.2	10 n. 10	20.2	10
17.13, 27	10 n. 9	20.5	14
18.3	13 n. 24, 36, 45 n. 156, 46 n. 164	20.10	10 n. 6
18.5	13 n. 24, 36	20.24	27 n. 78
18.17	48 n. 180	21.2, 5, 7, 20	36
18.27	13 n. 25	21.21	9 n. 5
20.14	9 n. 5	21.26 f.	10 n. 6, 36
24	26	21.32	36
24.5, 9, 10	10 n. 10	23.13	27 n. 78
24.12	10	32.13	36
24.14	19 n. 43	32.30	32 n. 98
24.17	10 n. 10	34.14	14
24.27	10	<i>Leviticus</i>	
24.34	10 n. 10	22.11	9 n. 5, 10 n. 9
24.35	9 n. 5	25.39 f.	9 n. 3
24.42, 48	10	25.42	10
24.52	10 n. 10	25.44	36
24.54 ff.	10	25.55	13 n. 23
24.59	10 n. 10	<i>Numbers</i>	
26.24	19 n. 43	11.11	13 n. 25
30.43	9 n. 5	12.7 f.	15, 19, 36
32.5	9 n. 5	14.24	16 n. 29, 20 n. 44, 36
32.10	36	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
45.16	36 n. 111	3.24	13 n. 25
50.17	13 n. 22, 36 n. 111	3.26	32 n. 98
<i>Exodus</i>		4.24	14
4.10	13 n. 25, 36, 48 n. 183	5.6	10
5.16	36	5.9	14
12.44	10 n. 9	5.14	10 n. 9
		6.12	10

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
6.15	14
12.12	10 n. 9
32.36	36 f., 46 n. 169
32.43	36 f.
34.5	43 f. 48 n. 183
<i>Joshua</i>	
1.1	39 n. 115
1.2, 7	20
1.13	20, 36
1.15	20, 39 n. 119, 48 n. 183
9.8 f.	36
9.11	12 n. 16, 36
9.23	12, 36
12.6	36
14.7	39 n. 115
23.7	27 n. 78
24.19	14
24.29	20 n. 44, 36
<i>Judges</i>	
2.8	20 n. 44, 36
<i>I Samuel</i>	
3.12-14	58
7.1	22 n. 57
8	30 n. 92
8.14 f.	11 n. 13
11.5, 10	22 n. 57
15.34	11 n. 14
16.15	11 n. 14
18.5	11 n. 12
21.7	11 n. 14
22.6	37 n. 113
22.7	11 n. 13
22.8	37
22.9	11 n. 12
22.14	37 n. 113
25.10	37
30.13	37 n. 112
<i>II Samuel</i>	
2.12 f., 15, 17	11 n. 12
3.18	20, 84 n. 370
7	40 n. 127

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>II Samuel</i>	
8.6 f.	40 n. 127
9.2	11 n. 14, 37 n. 113
9.8	12 n. 18
9.9	11 n. 14
9.10, 12	37 n. 112
10.2 ff.	11 n. 14
10.19	12, 37
11.9, 13	11 n. 14
12.18 f.	37
15.34	11 n. 14, 37
17.4, 7, 25 f.	40 n. 127
19.17	37 n. 112
21.22	37
<i>I Kings</i>	
4.6	11 n. 14
8.53, 56	20
8.59	38 n. 114
9.22	9 n. 2
11.13	20 n. 45, 84 n. 370
11.26	11 n. 14
11.32	20 n. 45, 84 n. 370
11.34	20, 84 n. 370
11.36	20 n. 45, 48 n. 184
14.8	48 n. 184
14.18	22
15.29	22
16.9	11 n. 14
18.36	21
19.16	27 n. 79
20.32	12 n. 16
22.19 ff.	22 n. 53
<i>II Kings</i>	
8.13	12 n. 18
8.19	20 n. 45, 84 n. 370
9.7	22 n. 52
9.36	22
10.5	12 n. 16
10.10	22
14.25	22
16.7	12 n. 16, 14
17.13, 23	22 n. 52
17.27	30 n. 92

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>II Kings</i>	
18.12	20
18.24	12
19.23	11 n. 14
19.34	20 n. 45, 84 n. 370
20.6	20 n. 45, 84 n. 370
21.10	22 n. 52
22.12	11, 37
24.2	22 n. 52
<i>I Chronicles</i>	
6.49	13 n. 22
16.13	19 n. 43
17	40 n. 127
18.6 f.	40 n. 127
28.5	21 n. 46
29.23	21 n. 46
<i>II Chronicles</i>	
1.3	20
13.6	11 n. 14
13.18	21 n. 46
24.6	20, 22 n. 55, 40
24.9	13 n. 22
32.16	21 n. 46
34.20	11
<i>Ezra</i>	
2.55, 58	12 n. 21
5.11	13 n. 22, 39 n. 123, 45
9.11	22 n. 52, 39 n. 123
<i>Nehemiah</i>	
1.7, 11	40
7.57, 60	12 n. 21
9.14	40
10.49	13 n. 22
11.3	12 n. 21
<i>Job</i>	
1.8	23, 39 n. 121
2.3	23
4.18	21 n. 49, 22, 80
7.2	9 n. 2
14.13-15	23
30.4	74 n. 317
42.7	23

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Psalms</i>	
2	31 n. 96
2.7	81 and n. 349
15	16 n. 30
18 tit.	39 n. 122
24	16 n. 30
34.22	17
36 tit.	48 n. 184
50	16 n. 30
79.2	17
80.8 ff.	79
86.16	39 n. 122
89.3	21, 59 n. 249
89.19	59 n. 249
89.20	21
89.39, 50	21 n. 47
105.6	19 n. 43
105.25	17
105.26	20 n. 44
109.28	16
113.1	16 n. 33, 39 n. 122
119.17, 23, 76, 135, 140, 176	16
132.10	84 n. 370
134.1	16 n. 33
135.1	16 n. 33
135.12	47 n. 175
135.14	17
136.22	18 n. 41, 47 n. 175
143.11 f.	14 n. 26
149.6	93 n. 425
<i>Proverbs</i>	
12.18	9 n. 4
28.19	9 n. 4
<i>Isaiah</i>	
6.2	47 n. 174
6.7	27 n. 80
6.10	67 n. 290, 92
8.11	62 n. 263
9.3	33 n. 104
9.6	41
10.15	42
11.1	41

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Isaiah</i>		<i>Isaiah</i>	
11.2	60	42.2 f.	28 and n. 86, 30 n. 92
11.4	60, 93 n. 425	42.3 f.	26
20.3	22 n. 51, 23 n. 58, 50	42.4	28, 30 n. 92, 41, 60, 80 and n. 346
22.20	23 n. 58, 50	42.5-9	24 n. 63
33.10	42	42.6	27, 29 n. 89, 59 f., 62, 90 n., 403, 93
37.24	11 n. 14	42.7	26, 28 f., 60, 94 n. 428
37.35	23 n. 58, 48 n. 184, 50	42.9	22 n. 50
40 ff.	51 f., 71, 102	42.16	94 n. 428
40.10 f.	33 n. 104	42.19	18, 47 n. 169, 50, 51 nn. 199, 200, 52 and n. 207, 54 and n. 215, 55 and n. 219, 67 n. 291
40.27	29	42.22	29
41.1-5	30 n. 91	42.23	51 n. 199
41.8	47 nn. 176-7, 50, 51 n. 199, 52 and nn. 203 and 207, 56	43.1-10	68 n. 293
41.8 ff.	17 n. 38, 18, 47 nn. 175-6, 54 and n. 213, 67 n. 291	43.8	18, 29
41.9	47 n. 176, 50, 51 n. 199, 52 and nn. 203, 207	43.8-13	30 n. 91
41.21-29	30 n. 91	43.10	30 n. 92, 49 f., 51 n. 199, 56 f., 67 and n. 293, 77
41.22 f., 26 f.	22 n. 50	43.27	19 n. 42
42	66 n. 289, 86	44.1	18, 47 nn. 175-6, 50, 51 n. 199, 54
42.1	24 n. 66, 26, 27 and n. 79, 40, 43, 47 n. 175, 49 f., 51 n. 199, 52 and nn. 203 and 206-7, 57, 59 and n. 249, 60 ff., 67 and n. 293, 80 n. 345, 82	44.1 f.	17 n. 38, 67 n. 291
42.1 ff.	24, 27 and n. 82, 30 n. 92, 41, 53, 54 n. 216, 59 f., 62, 67 n. 292, 71, 75, 77, 80, 81 and n. 350, 88, 90, 93 f., 98	44.2	18, 47 nn. 175-6, 50, 51 n. 199, 54 and n. 213
		44.4-6	30 n. 91
		44.8	30 n. 92
		44.21	13 n. 23, 17 n. 38, 18, 47 nn. 175- 6, 50, 51 n. 199, 54, 67 n. 291
		44.22	18, 29
		44.26	21 n. 49, 26 n. 71,

<i>Bible Ref.</i> <i>Isaiah</i>	<i>Page</i>
	47 n. 169, 50, 51 n. 199, 52 n. 208, 55 n. 221, 56, 67 n. 291
45.4	17 n. 38, 18, 47 n. 176, 50, 51 n. 199, 54, 67 n. 291
45.9 f.	30
45.20	30 n. 91
45.23 f.	29 n. 89
48.20	17 n. 35, 18, 46 n. 166, 47 nn. 175-6, 50, 51 n. 200, 52 n. 208, 54, 67 n. 291
49.1	27 and n. 78, 56 n. 228, 59
49.1 f.	60, 77
49.1-6	24, 41
49.2	26 f., 28 n. 86, 59 and n. 252, 93 n. 425
49.3	24 f., 27, 41, 47 nn., 175-6, 50, 51 n. 200, 54 and n. 213, 55, 67 n. 291
49.4	32
49.5	24, 27, 50, 51 n. 200, 55 f.
49.5 f.	13 n. 23, 28 f., 54 and n. 214, 67 n. 291
49.6	27, 29 n. 89, 50, 51 n. 199, 52 and nn. 203 and 207, 57, 59, 62, 71 n. 305, 88 n. 390, 90 n. 403, 93, 98
49.6 f.	60, 77

<i>Bible Ref.</i> <i>Isaiah</i>	<i>Page</i>
49.7	24 and n. 63, 30 f., 34, 41, 59
49.8	27, 29 n. 89, 71 n. 305
49.8 ff.	28, 56
49.8-13	24 n. 63, 41
49.9	26, 29
50.4	27
50.4 ff.	25, 27, 56 n. 226
50.4-9	24, 30, 41, 54 n. 216, 55
50.5	32 n. 100
50.7 ff.	32
50.10	46 n. 167, 50, 51 n. 199, 54 ff., 67 n. 291
51.8	33 n. 103
52.13	27, 41 f., 42 n. 136, 50, 51 n. 199, 52 nn., 203 and 207, 53, 57, 60, 67 nn. 290 and 293, 68, 75 n. 328, 86 n. 380, 97 and n. 446
52.13 ff.	24, 32 n. 99, 33, 49, 55 n. 217, 60 and n. 254, 71, 72 n. 308, 77 and n. 337, 98
52.13-53.12	24 and nn. 65, and 67, 30 f., 33, 41, 44, 53, 62, 66 n. 289, 67 f., 71 f., 93 f., 95 n. 434
52.14	41, 42 nn. 134-5, 60 f., 68, 97 n. 446
52.14 f.	34, 41
52.15	31, 41, 53, 55, 59 ff., 68, 78 n. 340, 88, 93 f., 99

<i>Bible Ref.</i> <i>Isaiah</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Bible Ref.</i> <i>Isaiah</i>	<i>Page</i>
	n. 455		n. 446
53	31, 33, 42, 50, 53, 54 and n. 216, 57 f., 59 n. 251, 62, 64, 66 and n. 289, 67 n. 290, 71 and n. 304, 72, 73 and n. 313, 74, 75 and n. 324, 76 and n. 329, 77 n. 338, 86, 88, 89 and nn. 396, 398 and 400, 90, 91 and n. 412, 93 f., 96, 97 and n. 444, 98 and n. 448, 99 and n. 452, 100 n. 460, 102, 104	53.4-6 53.5	95 n. 431 57 n. 241, 61 f., 67 n. 290, 69, 72 and n. 311, 74, 89 n. 397, 90 n. 409, 95 n. 434, 96 n. 438
		53.6	32, 53, 69, 72 n. 311, 86 n. 380, 89, 91 f.
		53.7	32, 67 n. 290, 69, 73, 97 n. 446, 99 and nn. 453 and 458
		53.7 f.	53, 56, 88, 91, 94
		53.8	42 n. 138, 69, 98
		53.8-10	31
		53.9	42 n. 140, 62, 65 and n. 285, 67 n. 290, 70, 91, 99
53.1	68, 88, 92, 94	53.10	31 n. 98, 32, 33 n. 105, 55, 67 n. 290, 70, 91 f., 95 nn. 431 and 434, 96 and n. 442, 98, 99 and n. 455
53.1 ff.	41 f.		
53.1-10a	33	53.10-12	53, 89 n. 401
53.1-11a	24, 32 n. 99	53.11	27, 42 n. 139, 50, 51 n. 200, 53, 55, 57, 59 n. 250, 60, 67 n. 291, 70, 75 n. 324, 86 n. 380, 89 n. 399, 91, 95 and n. 432, 98 f.
53.1-12	68, 77		
53.2	41 and nn. 129, 132, 61, 68, 73 n. 313, 75, 86 n. 380	53.11b-12	24, 32 n. 99
53.2-4	53	53.12	33, 53, 56 and n. 234, 57, 64, 65 and nn. 283-4, 66, 70 and
53.3	53, 61, 67 n. 290, 68, 69 n. 296, 70 n. 302, 73 n. 313, 90, 98, 102		
53.4	31 n. 93, 62 and n. 267, 63 and n. 273, 64 and nn. 274-5, 66 n. 289, 67 n. 290, 69, 74, 88, 90, 93 n. 424, 94, 95 n. 434, 97		

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Isaiah</i>	
	n. 302, 75, 76
	n. 329, 83, 88, 89
	n. 397, 90 and
	nn. 404 and 409,
	91 ff., 95 and
	n. 434, 96 nn. 438
	and 440, 97 and
	nn. 445-6, 98
	f., 103
54.17	39
56.6	13 n. 23, 17, 40
	n. 124
61.1	27 n. 79
63.17	40 n. 124
65.8 f.	17
65.9	40 n. 124
13 ff.	17
65.14	40 n. 124, 47
	n. 172
66.24	65 n. 286
<i>Jeremiah</i>	
1.5	29 n. 88
1.9	27 n. 80
1.10	29 n. 88
7.25	22 n. 52, 40
9.4	19 n. 42
11.19	32
12.1-6	29 n. 87
12.3	32 n. 101
12.7 ff.	31 n. 97
15.16	27 n. 77
15.19	32 n. 100
20.14 ff.	31 n. 97
23.5	59 n. 250
23.29	28 n. 86
25.4	22 n. 52, 40
25.9	21
26.5	22 n. 52, 40, 46
	n. 167
27-29	21
27.6	21
29.19	22 n. 52

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Jeremiah</i>	
30.10	17 n. 35, 18 n. 41,
	43, 45 n. 156,
	47 nn. 175-6
33.15	59 n. 250
33.21 f., 26	21
35.14	22 n. 52
35.15	40, 46 n. 167
43.10	21
44.4	22 n. 52, 40, 46
	n. 167
45.4 f.	31 n. 97
46.27 f.	18 n. 41, 40, 47
	n. 175
<i>Lamentations</i>	
5.8	12
<i>Ezekiel</i>	
2.8	32 n. 100
3.1 ff.	27 n. 80
28.25	18 n. 41, 47 n. 175
34.23 f.	21, 49 f.
37.24 f.	21, 49 f.
37.25	18 n. 41, 47 n. 175
38.17	22 n. 52
<i>Daniel</i>	
3.26	13 n. 22, 45, 46
	n. 169, 49 n. 193
3.28	40 n. 125, 43 f., 46
	n. 169, 49 n. 193
3.33 LXX	46 n. 164
3.35 LXX	49 n. 187
3.44 LXX	46 n. 164
3.85 LXX	46 n. 169
6.20	49 n. 192
6.21	13 n. 22
9.6, 10	22 n. 52, 46 n. 167
9.11	13 n. 22, 48 n. 183
9.17	46 n. 164
12.3	55
<i>Hosea</i>	
12.3 ff.	19 n. 42
<i>Amos</i>	
3.7	22 n. 52, 23 n. 58

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Micah</i>	
4.1	51 n. 202
<i>Nahum</i>	
1.2	14
<i>Haggai</i>	
2.23	21, 49 n. 195
<i>Zechariah</i>	
1.6	22 n. 52
3.8	49
9.9	59 n. 250
12.10 ff.	74 n. 318
12.12	74
13.5	9 n. 4
<i>Malachi</i>	
4.4 f.	20
4.5 f.	103
<i>I Esdras</i>	
4.59	45 n. 160, 46 n. 164
6.13	39 n. 123, 43, 45, 46 n., 166
6.27	43, 45, 49 n. 191
8.82	39 n. 123, 43 f., 46 n. 167
<i>II Esdras (IV Ezra)</i>	
1.32	80
2.1, 18	80
3.11	48 n. 185
3.23	48 n. 184
5.45, 56	46 n. 164
7.28 f.	45 n. 163, 49
7.75, 102	46 n. 164
8.2, 24	46 n. 164
10.37	46 n. 164
12.8	46 n. 164
12.31 f.	99 n. 457
13.1-13	99 n. 457
13.14	46 n. 164
13.25-32	99 n. 457
13.32, 37, 52	45 n. 163, 49 and n. 196
14.9	45 n. 163, 49 and n. 196, 99 n. 457
14.31	48 n., 183

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>	
2.13	43 and n. 145, 44, 53
2.16, 18	44
2.19 f.	53
4.18	53
4.20 ff.	53, 60 n. 254
5.1 ff.	44, 77 n. 337
5.3 f.	53
5.5	44 n. 151, 53
5.6 f., 15 f.	53
9.4	43 and n. 145
9.5	46 n. 164
9.7	43 n. 145
10.16	48 n. 183
12.7	43
12.19 ff.	43 n. 145
19.6	43
<i>Ecclesiasticus</i>	
11.13	55
36.1	45 n. 160
36.17	45 n. 160, 46 n. 164, 47 n. 169
48.10	57
<i>Baruch</i>	
1.20	43 ff., 48 n. 183
2.20 24	43 ff., 46 n. 167
2.28	43 ff., 48 n. 183
3.36	43, 44 n. 149, 45, 47 n. 177
<i>I Maccabees</i>	
4.30	48 n. 184
<i>II Maccabees</i>	
7.6	46 n. 169
7.33	43 n. 148, 46 n. 169
7.34	43, 46 n. 166
7.37f.	102 n. 476
8.29	46 nn. 164, 166 and 169
<i>Matthew</i>	
1.22	93 n. 424
3.17	27 n. 81, 81

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Matthew</i>	
5.3 f.	102
5.12	101 n. 467
8.17	88, 90 and n. 408, 93 n. 424, 94
11.5	102
12.18	79 f., 81 and n. 352, 82, 83 n. 360, 86, 95 n. 429
12.18-20	80, 90 n. 408, 94
12.18-21	88, 90
12.21	80, 93
17.5	27 n. 81, 82
17.12, 22	90 n. 405
20.19	100 n. 459
20.28	89, 95 and n. 435, 96 and n. 442, 98
21.35 f.	101 n. 469
22.6	101 n. 469
23.30-32	101 n. 469
23.33	93 n. 424
23.34-6	101
23.37	100 n. 465, 101 and n. 469
24.26	59 n. 252
24.30	74 n. 318
25.41, 46	65 n. 286
26.2	96 n. 437
26.28	95 n. 435, 96 n. 436
26.54	90 n. 405, 93 and n. 424
26.63	99
26.64	99 n. 454
27.12, 14	99
27.46	81 n. 349
<i>Mark</i>	
1.10	81
1.11	27 n. 81, 80 ff., 86, 90 and nn. 402 and 408, 95
2.7	100
2.20	98, 99 and n. 457
2.23-3.7a	100 and nn. 463-4

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Mark</i>	
4.12	67 n. 290
4.13, 40 f.	77 n. 331
6.16	101
6.52	77 n. 331
7.18	77 n. 331
8.16-21	77 n. 331
8.31	90 nn. 405-6, 100 n. 459, 103
8.32	77 n. 331
8.33	103
9.7	27 n. 81, 80 ff., 86, 90 and nn. 402 and 408, 95
9.11	103
9.12	90 and nn. 405-6 and 408, 98, 101 ff.
9.31	96 n. 437, 100 n. 459, 102
9.32	76 n. 331
10.32-40	101
10.33	96 n. 437
10.33 f.	100 n. 459
10.38	77 n. 331
10.39	102 n. 472
10.42-5	102 n. 474
10.45	89, 90 n. 408, 92, 95 and n. 435, 96 and nn. 436 and 442, 98, 102, 104 and n. 487
11.17	102
14.3-9	103 and n. 480
14.8	99, 101 ff.
14.21	90 n. 405
14.22-5	104 n. 484
14.24	89, 90 n. 408, 95 and n. 435, 96 and n. 436, 99, 102, 104
14.41	96 n. 437
14.49	90 n. 405

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Mark</i>	
14.61	99
14.62	99 n. 454
15.5	99
15.34	81 n. 349
15.45	103 n. 480
<i>Luke</i>	
1.54	45, 47 n. 177, 54 n. 213, 79 and n. 341
1.69	45, 48 n. 184, 79 and n. 341, 85
2.29-32	98
2.32	90 and n. 403, 97
3.22	27 n. 81, 81 and n. 349
4.18 ff.	102
4.29	100 n. 465
9.31	90 n. 405
9.35	27 n. 81, 61 n. 260, 82, 95 and n. 429
9.44	90 n. 405, 102
11.21 f.	98 n. 450
11.22	100 n. 460
12.50	102
13.31	101
13.32	103 n. 478
13.32 f.	102
13.33	90 n. 405, 101 and n. 469
14.25-33	101
17.25	90 n. 405, 102, 103 n. 478
18.31	90 n. 405
22.19	96 n. 439
22.19 f.	95 n. 435, 104 n. 483
22.22	90 n. 405
22.24-7	102 n. 474
22.36-8	103
22.37	66, 88, 90 and nn. 404 and 408, 99, 102 f.
23.9	99

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Luke</i>	
23.34	99 and n. 455, 102
23.35	61
24.7	90 n. 405, 96 n. 437
24.21	102 n. 472
24.25-7, 32, 44-6	90 n. 405
<i>John</i>	
1.29	82 f., 86, 92, 96 and n. 440
1.34	61 and n. 261, 81 n. 350, 82, 92, 95
1.36	82, 92
3.14	92, 96 n. 441
5.10	100 n. 463
6.51	95 n. 435
7.27	59 n. 252
7.39	96 n. 441
8.28	96 n. 441
8.59	100 n. 465
10.11, 15	92, 95 n. 435, 96, 99, 102
10.17 f.	92, 96, 99, 102
10.31, 33	100 n. 461
10.31-6	100 n. 465
11.8	100 n. 465
11.51 f.	95 n. 435
12.16, 23, 32	96 n. 441
12.34	92, 96 n. 441
12.37 f.	92 n. 423
12.38	88, 92 and n. 421, 94
12.40	92
15.13	95 n. 435
16.32	92
17.1, 5	96 n. 441
17.19	95 n. 435
18.14	95 n. 435
19.9	99
19.37	74 n. 318
19.38 ff.	103 n. 480
<i>Acts</i>	
1.6	102 n. 472

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Acts</i>		<i>Acts</i>	
2.23	91 n. 414	10.43	91 n. 414
2.33	96 n. 441	13.27, 29	91 n. 414
3	91	13.47	88 n. 390
3.13	76 and n. 341, 80, 83 n. 356, 85 and n. 379, 86 and n. 380, 87 nn. 385-6, 96 n. 441	17.2 f.	91 n. 414
		17.25	38 n. 117
3.13 f.	91 n. 412	22.13 f.	91
3.14	91	26.18	88 n. 390, 94 n. 428
3.18	91 n. 414	26.22 f.	91 n. 414
3.26	79 and n. 341, 80, 83 n. 356, 85 and n. 379, 86 and n. 380, 87 nn. 385-6	<i>Romans</i>	
		3.25	89 n. 399, 95 n. 435
4	91	4.25	66, 89 and n. 397, 96 nn. 437-9, 97
4.25	48 n. 184, 79 and n. 341, 84, 85 and n. 379, 87 n. 385	5.6, 8	95 n. 435
		5.19	89 n. 399
4.27	79 and n. 341, 80, 83 n. 356, 84, 85 and n. 379, 86 and n. 380, 87 nn. 385-6	8.3	95 n. 435, 96 n. 442
		8.32	89, 95 n. 435, 96 n. 439
4.28	91 n. 414	8.34	65, 89, 95
4.30	79 and n. 341, 80, 83 n. 356, 84, 85 and n. 379 86 and n. 380, 87 nn. 385-6	10.16	92, 94
		11.3	101, n. 469
5.31	96 n. 441	14.15	95 n. 435
7.51 f.	101 n. 469	15.21	88 f. 93 f.
7.52	91 and n. 414	<i>I Corinthians</i>	
8.5-40	91	1.13	95 n. 435
8.12 ff.	91 and n. 411	1.23	77 n. 331
8.32 f.	88, 91, 94	5.7	95 n. 435
8.34	24 n. 67, 56	8.11	95 n. 435
8.36, 38 f.	91 and n. 411	11.23	96 nn. 437-8
9.17	91	11.23-5	89
		11.24	95 n. 435, 104 n. 484
		15.3	90, 94, 95 and nn. 433 and 435
		15.3-5	88
		<i>II Corinthians</i>	
		5.14 f.	95 n. 435
		5.21	95 n. 435, 96 n. 441
		<i>Galatians</i>	
		1.4	95 n. 435, 96 and n. 439
		2.20	95 n. 435, 96 and n. 439

<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Bible Ref.</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Galatians</i>		<i>I Peter</i>	
3.13	77 n. 331, 95 n. 435	1.11	92
<i>Ephesians</i>		2.21	95 n. 435
1.6	95 n. 429	2.21-5	91, 98
5.2, 25	95 n. 435, 96 and n. 439	2.22	96
<i>Philippians</i>		2.22-5	97
2.5-11	97 and nn. 444-6, 98	2.24	96 and n. 440
2.6-11	86, 89 and n. 398	3.18	91, 95 n. 435
<i>I Thessalonians</i>		4.1	95 n. 435
2.15	101 n. 469	<i>II Peter</i>	
5.10	95 n. 435	1.17	95 n. 429
<i>I Timothy</i>		<i>I John</i>	
2.6	89, 95 n. 435, 96 and nn. 436, 439 and 442	1.7	74 n. 318
<i>Titus</i>		2.1	92, 95
2.14	95 n. 435, 96 and n. 439	2.1 f.	65
<i>Hebrews</i>		2.2	92, 95 n. 435
2.9	95 n. 435	2.29	92
2.10	43 n. 147	3.5	92, 96 and n. 440
7.14	58	3.7	92
7.25	65, 95	3.16	95 n. 435
9.28	93, 96	4.10	92, 95 n. 435
10.12, 26	95 n. 435	<i>Revelation</i>	
11.35-8	101 n. 469	<i>Book of</i>	83, 92
<i>James</i>		1.16	93 n. 425
5.10	101 n. 469	11.7	101 n. 469
		11.18	46 n. 167
		12.5	59 n. 252
		15.3	48 n. 183
		16.6	101 n. 469
		18.24	101, n. 469
		19.15	93 n. 425

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